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# **SOCIAL ORDER**

**JUNE 1956**

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## **Verdict on MRA**

**Religion in American Society**

**Catholics and "the New Conservatism"**

**Thinking Parishioners**

**U. S. Protestants and Race**

**Foot-notes on Race Relations**

# SOCIAL ORDER

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# Religion in **AMERICAN SOCIETY**

## *Part One*

JOHN L. THOMAS, S.J.

**T**HE STUDY of religion in America assumes primary significance only to the extent that we understand how closely the vitality of our nation is bound up with its religion. At least in origin and early development, behind the cultural unity which we loosely term *the American Way* lay a deeper, spiritual unity. There existed a vision, a spiritual outlook and tradition representing the accumulated fruit of centuries of common thought and action. This outlook furnished a synthesis which enabled man to harmonize the spiritual aspirations of his inner world with external reality, the outer world of his social activities. In the Western world, it was religion which provided the essential elements of this synthesis, and it was religion which supplied the cohesive force unifying society and culture.

Early Americans could accept so un-

*This article is based on a forthcoming work on religion and the American people by Father Thomas and Mr. Ben Gaffin, of Ben Gaffin and Associates, Chicago. The concluding installment will appear in September.*

critically Jefferson's statement that "nature" had endowed man with a "moral sense" only because, as products of the Western cultural stream, they were accustomed to view man in a Christian frame of reference. That this statement, like so many others commonly accepted at the time, is not "self-evident" to men raised outside of this tradition has become painfully clear to most Americans in recent years. In this connection, experience with the United Nations has been a maturing, if sobering process for the American people.

Because a clear understanding of the role which religion has played in the development of American culture is important, it will be worthwhile to investigate in some detail how religion affects a cultural system. It does this primarily in two ways. First, it affects the structure of the social system which men establish to answer their needs. Second, it affects the synthesis by which man harmonizes his inner and outer worlds. This is to say, it supplies a meaningful frame of reference for what Erich Fromm has called "man's pursuit of significance."

## Religion and the Social System

An analysis of any social or cultural structure reveals the following elements of primary importance. First, we find a basic, underlying set of values, or what may be called an *ideology*, composed of the culture's ultimate goals. These goals are defined in terms of the elemental doctrines concerning the origin, nature and purpose of man and of society held by the group.

Second, further analysis reveals that there are derivative sets of values and purposes. These represent specific institutional objectives or, in other words, the culturally devised applications of the ideology to concrete social institutions such as the economic system, the state, the family and the church.

Finally, we discover that there are institutionalized means or behavioral patterns. These represent the uniformly acceptable procedures, the specific sets of social relationships established for the implementation of these common institutional objectives.

If a culture is to endure, its ideology, institutional objectives and behavioral patterns must be fairly well integrated, *i.e.*, they must be logically and functionally supportive. This means that the behavioral patterns of the group must facilitate or at least make possible its common institutional objectives, and these objectives, in turn must be so formulated as to render possible the fulfillment of its ultimate cultural goals. This is merely another way of saying that ultimate cultural goals have functional requisites.

How has religion affected American culture? Historically, it was religion which supplied the essential elements for the American definition of the origin, nature and purpose of man and

so furnished the indispensable ideological foundation for the system of ultimate goals lying at the core of both Western culture and American society. It follows that if religion no longer furnishes this commonly accepted ideological basis, the traditional American values which are premised upon it become little more than cultural residues, to be called into question at every crisis.

In other words, since the "American Way" represents a system of values premised on a foundation traditionally supplied by religion, if religion were found to furnish this basis no longer, the American system of values would be deprived of its ultimate foundation. But once a culture has lost its spiritual roots, men are bound to look for substitutes. If society's institutional objectives are viewed as mere cultural residues—meaningless carry-overs from the dead past, if men do not feel that the social system is organized in terms of some spiritual or ideal goals, then, particularly in time of crisis, they will consider that system as little more than the embodiment of force and fraud.

This is the social source of that revolutionary spirit, which Ortega y Gasset characterized as "the revolt of the masses," so prevalent in the world today. Under these circumstances, men grow dissatisfied not only with specific social conditions, but with the whole structure of existing society; they plan and work not for reform within the system, but for the complete restructuring of society in terms of some new ideal.

Although substitutes for this function of religion have frequently been proposed, none has appeared acceptable. Western man's faith in progress and in the unique dignity of the human



person rests on religious foundations. These concepts of progress and human dignity become undefinable and meaningless outside this context. In recent years the nation and even humanity itself have been suggested as substitutes for religion. Thus far, at least, free men have never been persuaded to worship man. It goes without saying that modern "science" can furnish no substitutes, since it cannot be expected to provide answers to questions which by its very nature it cannot even ask.

### Religion and the Individual

But religion has fulfilled another function in Western culture. It furnished the basic elements for that necessary synthesis in which harmony between man's inner world and the world of his social activity is achieved. By offering Western man an explanation of the significance and purpose of life, religion provided him with an intelligible frame of reference within which his perennial pursuit of happiness could be meaningfully defined. For the question of happiness is inseparable from the moral question. The pursuit of happiness conceived without reference to moral standards represents a contradiction in terms. Implicit in the quest for happiness is some concept of the good life. Men can be happy only as the ideal aspirations of their inner world harmonize with their social activity.

Hence, were it no longer to furnish the basic elements for achieving this synthesis, men would have to find a substitute for religion. Normless striving, or the pursuit of happiness without meaningful value referents, becomes a frustrating process not long to be tolerated. When there is no inner vision, no concept of the good life, no

clearly defined aspirational goals and ideals, man's social striving in his outer world loses its real significance. It is reduced to a process which lacks a purpose that can be related to the wholeness of life. Men in this situation resemble the hobo, of whom Park said, "He has gained his freedom, but he has lost his direction."

What substitute for this function of religion can be found? Some glibly advocate that "each individual must discover and apply afresh the great principles of the good life handed down to him by humanity." This is merely begging the question, for "the great principles of the good life" handed down by Western humanity have been premised on a foundation furnished by religion. They lose their significance and their personal pertinence once they are divorced from this foundation.

According to others, modern man has found a substitute, but it is replete with dangers. The substitute is merely to "follow the crowd," or as William Whyte described it, "groupthink." This signifies more than expedient conformity. It implies the belief that the values and definitions of the group are automatically both right and good.

Whyte sees this as a system of "buck-passing" in areas of conduct where moral decisions are concerned. In reality the problem lies much deeper than that. Once he cuts himself off from spiritual roots, Western man finds no foundation upon which to organize his inner world. When his inner vision has failed, he becomes incapable of rational self-direction because he possesses no concept of his ultimate life-goals and consequently has no pertinent standards by which to judge his conduct.

David Riesman in *The Lonely Crowd* has documented this lack of self-directedness in modern man. What Riesman and many other keen observers of the modern scene have not understood is that they were witnessing the necessary consequences of Western man's separation from his traditional spiritual foundations. Men must turn to the group for direction when they lack within themselves the principles upon which to erect a meaningful system of conduct.

Hence the study of the religious beliefs, practices and attitudes of the American people is significant because the vitality of our society has been so clearly bound up with religion. Religion has provided the explicit—and latent—definitions underlying the ideology upon which our social system has been constructed. This is the spiritual unity underpinning the cultural unity we call the *American Way*.

### **Religion and American History**

In order to gain some perspective in evaluating contemporary religion, it may help to recall briefly several factors which have helped to shape our institutions. Although the American religious experience represents a continuation of the broad stream of Western culture, it remains in many ways unique.

An essential condition of this uniqueness lies in the recent origin of the United States as a nation. Compared to other countries in the Western world, we are a new nation. The all-inclusive, restrictive traditions accumulated through centuries and built into the very social structure of older nations were not present to mold the outlook of the American people. They faced the problem of founding a new nation in a

stern and stubborn environment where their ability to devise new methods and their willingness to make numerous adjustments constituted the very requisite of survival. The character of all their institutions is colored by these circumstances. To be sure, all immigrants to the New World, whether colonists or later arrivals, brought with them a cultural mold shaped by Old World traditions, but the demands of their environment together with their relative isolation from the homeland soon led to the development of new outlooks and different institutional patterns.

Although man's relationship to God as expressed in formal religion was perhaps least affected by the fact of immigration, the task of building a new nation soon worked profound changes even in this area. In the first place, religious toleration became a necessity, if not an ideal. The bitterness and exclusiveness of early theocratic conceptions, frequently fostered by colonial governments which supported an established church, were gradually mitigated under the impact of more practical considerations. Compulsory religious uniformity is not easily enforced in a country with an open frontier. Some degree of unity was required in fighting the Indians and Frenchmen to the North and, finally, in throwing off the yoke of the British. Furthermore, the new country needed settlers and early Americans, like their descendants, were too practical-minded to let religious differences interfere with business.

Second, the constant necessity of dominating and transcending the many natural obstacles which they faced led the American people to place great value on effective action. Of what use

was theory and speculation when one was surrounded with practical problems which had to be solved if one hoped to survive? This pragmatic outlook has long pervaded the national mind. American religion has not been unaffected. Indeed, some religious leaders boast of this fact, pointing out that American churches are characteristically activist.<sup>1</sup> This is to say, they preach a "practical theology," one that scoffs at "dogmatic subtleties and philosophical abstractions" and "gets things done." This lack of rigorous precision in beliefs, so characteristic of "liberal" Christians, renders it difficult to define just what many do believe.

Third, Americans succeeded remarkable well in dominating nature. This success led to a spirit of optimism which colored even their religious outlook. Whether this be the "healthy-mindedness" deplored by William James or the "undogmatic heartiness" described by others, the net result has been to soft-pedal those theological doctrines of the historic Protestant faiths which characteristically present a pessimistic view of human nature. This note of optimism, perhaps more than any other, sets American religion apart from its Old World origins and its European contemporaries.

Fourth, this prevailing spirit of pragmatism and optimism has so profoundly affected the whole climate of opinion in America that religion itself has come to be valued primarily for its social usefulness. The orthodox religious tradition of the past never doubted that the essential function of the churches was to serve as the means of reconciling dependent, sinful man-

kind to God. It conceived the essential human problems as primarily man's need for salvation because at the very beginning of its history, the human race was deprived of its friendship with God by a disorder of the will which sacrificed God to self, spirit to sense. Viewed in this frame of reference, formal religion appeared not only as an instrument of salvation, but as a strong disciplinary force unifying theory and practice in men's lives.

It appears that religion is no longer primarily viewed in this frame of reference. The American people have been so preoccupied with the conquest of nature and efforts to adapt social institutions to ever changing needs that they have come to consider the basic human problem as primarily one of adjusting to nature and to society. In this context, organized religion serves a useful function by promoting the spirit of brotherhood and by interpreting man's constant efforts at the more efficient exploitation of nature as the fulfillment of the Christian ideal. As a result, the American people have not found it too difficult to reconcile their interest in religion with their optimistic pragmatism.

Finally, American religion, considered as a phase of the culture, has been both in origin and actual fact predominantly Protestant—and a special blend of Protestantism. It represents primarily the development of a Calvinist tradition modified by sectarian revivalism. Neither Lutheranism nor Anglicanism has profoundly influenced it. Likewise, the Roman Catholic and Jewish groups were originally received and have remained as tolerated minorities. It may be convenient today to speak of American religion as divided into three

<sup>1</sup> See for instance the views expressed by MRA leaders in the article by Father Duff in this issue.

large equal religious communities, but it would be erroneous to conclude that these three religious groups have exercised a uniform influence on American culture.

Whatever the future may hold, up to the present American religion as a cultural influence has been chiefly Protestant.

These historical factors have conditioned the beliefs and practices of all religious groups in America. The spirit of tolerance (at least as an ideal), the respect for efficient action, the concept of social utility which maintains that religious behavior and attitudes making for the harmonious functioning of peo-

ple in society are most important, the comparative isolation of the two major religious minorities, are all specifically American phenomena which have drawn comment from foreign and native observers alike.

However, what we need to know is to what extent the actual beliefs, practices and attitudes of the adult population really reflect this historical conditioning. Behind this problem, of course, looms the more significant question concerning the degree to which the American people have lost sight of their traditional spiritual foundations.

These problems will be treated next.

*(To be concluded)*

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## ... just a few things:

OUR expert on MRA is completing doctoral studies in Europe. His article — one of our longest ever — draws on a report requested by an American prelate. The footnotes furnish fascinating sidelights!

THE PIECE ON AUTOMATION covers briefly but accurately views of the experts; its author teaches economics at Loras.

DR. WILSON (University of Illinois) discusses a provocative subject.

FROM A FORTHCOMING book on American religious data compiled by a colleague, Father Thomas gives some interpretations — more will come in our next (September) issue.

AT SHREVEPORT a remarkable development stimulates intellectual life in

a suburban Catholic parish. Here its initiator recounts aims and highlights.

EXCERPTS from three letters provide footnotes on current race relations. The writers: a Chicago housewife, a Los Angeles secretary, a Saint Louis librarian-student.

A LONGER PIECE on Protestant race relations work and interest by the managing editor is generally confirmed by three Protestant observers.

DESPITE the pessimism in the letter on Catholics and serious thinking (p. 296), we got a nice response from readers whose aid we asked in extending SOCIAL ORDER readership. But as we haven't doubled our circulation, we still would appreciate your cooperation and suggestions!

R.B., S.J.

SOCIAL ORDER



# Catholics and "the New Conservatism"

FRANCIS G. WILSON

A CATHOLIC CAN HARDLY admire history, or even a considerable portion of it. Must we not see the unhappy persecutions and the numberless martyrs of our times as a condemnation of much of history through which we are living? Is not our day like the age of persecution of the early Church? Must we not approve revolutions which will halt or even reverse the oppressive trend?

Any conservative is at times a revolutionary, and a Catholic conservative can be a revolutionary perhaps even more frequently. T. S. Eliot once remarked that a tradition must be associated with an orthodoxy by which it can be judged. Thus, it is not the mere formality of the revolution, but why the revolution comes that is crucial. Any appeal to the people for support is not Jacobinical, but only certain kinds—appeals for the destruction of the Great Tradition of Institutional Christianity and Christian philosophy. For these are judges of tradition. Institutions are to be judged by both philosophy and experience. American traditions and our political systems are surely not worthy of defense just because they exist.

Catholics objected to the French Revolution on a variety of grounds, but objection to the French Revolution, its successors on the continent and the socialist revolutions fortified by the Russian regime has been a hallmark of Catholic conservative thought and of conservatism in general. Liberals have called Catholic opposition to the French Revolution "feudal Catholicism," and Reinhold Niebuhr recently contrasted feudal Catholicism with the more recent Catholic social movement. Still, the revolutions have been criticized because they were first of all destroyers of Christian society. They have been determined to substitute, as Lubac has said, the atheistic humanism of Feuerbach, Nietzsche and Comte for a Christian humanism. It was such men as those who, in the nineteenth century, turned political anticlericalism into philosophical atheism. They prepared the way for the reception of others like Wagner, Marx, Darwin and Freud.

Against all of these trends the great Catholic conservatives of the last century made little headway. It was hard swimming upstream against the revolution in philosophy so long as the new philosophy was associated with a revo-



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**Natural law has served as a criticism and criterion of events  
in an imperfect world. Has it given more comfort  
to revolutionary or reactionary?**

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lution against institutions difficult to defend. Metternich has been subjected to a century of ridicule; Donoso Cortés has been forgotten by all but Spaniards and a few Germans; Bonald and Maistre have been distorted so that ideas either in agreement with Burke or with current conservative views are ignored; and the whole Catholic criticism of the revolution was named by the liberals "the Catholic reaction."

Catholic conservatives are not likely to support today a crusade in defense of those who championed the Church in her French revolutionary hour of peril. The issues of the present will hardly permit such an antiquarian luxury. Donoso must surely remain a Spanish figure, and some Frenchmen may read Bonald, Maistre, Chateaubriand and others. It is no doubt to Burke, one of the veritable founts of modern conservatism, that a Catholic must turn. It must have been some such impulse that led the scholars at Fordham University some time ago to take an exceptionally keen interest in Burke. Yet Catholic conservatives are not, any more than Burke, mere defenders of historical situations. Some history must be defended, some condemned. It is the basis on which any history is defended or condemned that makes any man either a conservative or a liberal revolutionary. It is the orthodoxy judging the tradition that is all important.

Every turn in intellectual history is contested today almost as vigorously

as it was first propounded. Much contemporary conservatism must, in the nature of intellectual dialectic, be expressed in such arguments. They range far and wide over Western history, but they return to the center of disturbance in Western Europe and particularly to the French upheaval. Conservatives tend to see continuity in revolutions; they see the destructiveness of the French Revolution flame up again in 1848, and again in Russia in 1917.

Now it seems that many liberal thinkers do the same in defense of the revolutions, and in this they confirm while they reverse the conservative argument; from such a reversal emerges the "liberal line," as Willmoore Kendall labels it in the *National Review*. A conservative will, no doubt, see more than a liberal in historical precedents. But he will see much that deserves condemnation and much that deserves praise. One learns from history what not to do as well as what is sometimes possible. Liberals—like Harry Elmer Barnes—have said that the only lesson of history is that there are no lessons.

A Catholic conservative will say that natural law is the rational criterion of history. It is with the help of natural law that politics must be judged. It has been said that Catholic thought has recovered the consciousness of the Mystical Body and that now it is on the way to the recovery of the sense of original sin. With the sense of the Mystical Body one combines Leo XIII's statement that a man is *civis idem et*

*christianus*; he is a citizen in the Mystical Body while he may yet recognize the finality of the state. Conservatism is primarily a problem of the *civis* as he is united with the Christian. A consciousness of the Mystical Body of Christ, of original sin and of natural law will surely illuminate the Catholic judgment of the past, the hope of an attainable human future, the sense of social responsibility and the prudential judgment of the present.

Yet there may be differences; for natural law has served as a criticism and criterion of events in an imperfect world, and it has given little comfort to the utopianism of the liberal and socialist revolution. But neither has it supported a reactionary or archaic view that some past situation was perfect enough to merit its restoration. And original sin in Donoso's magnificent conception of charity was the very basis of brotherhood and love among imperfect men who live in imperfect states.

The import of the conservative Catholic attitude at this point, however, may be something like the following. Neither the Mystical Body nor natural law nor original sin as the basis of brotherhood gives one the right to assume that a perfect political society can be realized within history. Progress, yes; reform, yes; but revolution to attain complete earthly justice, hardly. Gradualism in political action, resistance to the secular revolution, perhaps even against the protagonists of dialectical materialism, are surely among the major tasks of the Catholic conservative in our day. He has come to judge and to make history, not to praise it. From natural

law we draw a muscular attitude toward history; from the impact of sin there may be a recession of effort, but with no diminution of love. Through the concept of the Mystical Body we may love our neighbor as we may hope for life eternal that stands above all history, all reform, all maintenance of human order, all revolution or counter-revolution and all progress. Through these perceptions the meaning of history will emerge and the individual can comprehend the meaning of his own existence within both a political order and the spiritual order.

### Attitudes to Liberals

Catholics have two attitudes toward the liberals. One view is irenic, which is the effort to reach as full an agreement as possible with them, while retaining the meaning and identity of a 'Catholic position'. In contrast, one may seek first to indicate differences, to sharpen them, and to seek, indeed, a kind of rapprochement with the conservatives as the necessary means of preserving a Catholic identity.

Obviously, much of the ordinary activity of a community does not involve ideological positions, for much civic activity might readily be classified as housekeeping within large areas of consensus. But even in collaboration for practical ends over which there is no controversy, the communication between the Catholic and the ordinary political liberal is seldom complete and candid. Both Catholics and liberals must hold in the end that more than the mere mechanisms of politics are involved in the application of law to social life. Purpose, policy and value-judgments are also at stake.

On the other hand, the collaboration of Catholic liberals and Catholic conservatives involves another order of analysis, for there is a common foundation for all Catholics within the system of natural law and theology. Hence, there will be agreement on ultimates while there will be much prudential disagreement as to the proper instruments, policies or administrative decisions that will assist in the formation of the Catholic mind in a Catholic-leavened society. A political or economic system is largely an instrument to secure ends, and it is here that the argument may be most acute. The conservative will hold, first, that certain general political conclusions of a conservative order may be drawn from the Catholic tradition in relation to the state; and, second, they will urge that the preservation of a Catholic manner of living, whether or not a pluralistic society is involved, can best be achieved by policies conservative in nature. In other words, it will be argued that cooperation with liberals can never be completely harmonious because of the profound differences in the reasons advanced for a position and the difficulty of bridging this gap by discussion.

Beyond this, it seems clear that conservative practical politics will be more effective in maintaining a Catholic system than the types of reforms urged in America in the name of liberalism. Cooperation with conservatives is historically and immediately more sensible for Catholics than cooperation with either European or American liberals. For both of these types of liberals are determined that ultimately Catholic Christianity shall be destroyed.

Let us now consider briefly some of the questions related to the nature of

the economic and political orders, though our attention will fall primarily on economic questions. As Father Land said in his review of Father Keller's defense of capitalism in the light of the social encyclicals, "as anyone who attempted the task knows, to apply Catholic social thought in criticism of the existing economic order and in proposals for its reform is an arduous and hazardous undertaking." A writer has observed that "since the mid-nineteenth century Catholic thinkers have sought to evolve a middle course between the 'established disorder' of liberal capitalism and materialistic Marxism. . . . Catholic thinkers, especially in France, developed three main concepts: personalism, solidarism and pluralism. These, together with the papal social encyclicals, serve to guide the political, economic and social programs of Catholics."

### **Morality plus Freedom**

As not everyone is called to be an interpreter of encyclicals, whatever is here said is offered subject to caution and caveat. Encyclicals are often universal and timeless in import, and Catholic prudence in practical politics is complicated indeed. But some observations may be made. Father John Courtney Murray has suggested that throughout history the central demand of the Church has been its freedom. Might we not also say that the social teaching and prudence of the Church seeks the freedom of the person in both the political and economic order?

<sup>1</sup> *America*, March 6, 1954, p. 603.

<sup>2</sup> Emiliana R. Noether, "Political Catholicism in France and Italy," *Yale Review*, Summer, 1955, pp. 573-74.

Might we not also say that just as various forms of government are legitimate under given conditions, so different economic orders are legitimate under certain circumstances? The test of legitimacy of an economic order would be its fulfillment of primary moral conditions. It might seem, then, that a Catholic conservative may defend capitalism on the ground that it provides the conditions of a possible Christian life.

### Temporal Rights

In the temporal order, then, in the broader scope of Catholic teaching a man is entitled to be free to be a Christian; he is entitled to participate in some sense in the government of his local community and his nation-state; he is entitled to live under a just regime; he has the right to be the founder of a family and to have legal protection in this status; he is entitled to own private property, and to use it for legitimate ends; he is entitled to be able to earn a living or a frugal wage; he may belong to organizations of professional men and workers and may thus engage in voluntary corporate or group activity; and there are numerous political and economic matters that could be mentioned at this point, including the question of the kind of moral and social legislation that will best implement the Christian conception of life.

These are surely objectives for the long run, and one should not assume that a Catholic may claim a revolutionary realization of these goals. A man has a right under the natural law, but wisdom and prudence may indicate the conditions and the extent to which it may be claimed in the actual-

ities of politics. We have an obligation to obey the state, which is, perhaps, another way of saying that we do not have a right to a personal utopia. Just as people may consent to a form of government and thereby make its authority legitimate, so people may consent to an economic order such as capitalism. As Catholic conservatives we may legitimate the legislation and the institutions of the free-market economy, but we can expect of it a fair prudence in order to respect the moral rights of the citizen and Christian. The prudential argument for the free-market economy, the going-concern economy, is that it gives more effectively to the citizen the rights he might claim in an absolute sense in a perfect realization of a Catholic society. A Catholic conservative might also argue prudentially and with wisdom that the free-market system, or some form of capitalism, will provide and has provided elsewhere a basic economic protection of the family.

People are generally aware of the existence of controversy among Catholics both in Europe and America on these questions. It is clear that the terminology of Adam Smith is not the wording of the *Rerum Novarum* and the *Quadragesimo Anno*. It may be added that the terminology of the encyclicals is not that of the New Deal, the social service bureaucracy or of the pundits of socialism. These semantic problems make communication at times a perilous if not impossible effort.

Much caution, however, in the use of words is quite proper. Probably there has never been in existence a true *laissez-faire* system. Most *laissez-faire* literature has been written in protest



against what the government was actually doing to interfere with the market. Or it has been a criticism of the interference of monopoly, oligopoly or cartels with the free operation of the price system. Capitalism has existed as a set of institutions far-removed from a utopian *laissez-faire*. Neo-capitalism, as the word is used today, is further removed from a theoretical *laissez-faire* because of its assumption of many social responsibilities to workers and its support of the military activity of the modern state. Or, as Father Gannon said, because "as businessmen guided by the profit motive, they need our way of life."

It seems obvious that a Catholic society would have a different public opinion than one that is pragmatic and secular. The laws would in many instances be different, though in many others there would be no desire for change. There is in many ways an easy adjustment of the Catholic conscience to American society, and the American capitalistic system is surely one of the foundations of such adjustment. The political system is clearly another, for American Catholics can sense harmony between ancient doctrines of popular consent and our democracy. Among "the new conservatives" there is a perceptible degree of sympathy for Catholics, ultimately because they also operate on the principle of an objective moral order and reject secularism based on pragmatic and neo-utilitarian philosophy. The Catholic conservative, who will in all likelihood approve of the existence of the American neo-capitalistic and competitive system, finds among "the new conservatives" a congenial political atmosphere.

\* *America*, January 7, 1956, p. 393.

## Thinking Parishioners

SEVEN YEARS AGO my Bishop assigned me to establish an upper middle-class parish in a city of 160,000, a city typically Southern in religious and racial complexion, about seven per cent Catholic. It was to serve a new suburban community that included lawyers, doctors, engineers, geologists, corporation officers and department heads, educators, bankers, contractors, brokers, realtors, sales managers and top-level distributor-agents.

As I came to know these my people better, this striking fact stood out: a high percentage of them had college and university backgrounds. In order to seek the right direction in my pastoral work, we began to insert in the parish census certain questions about educational background. For a sociologist this would have been easy; for us, the surveys were amateurish, non-professional, inaccurate, doubtless, but sufficiently accurate to reveal a good overall picture.

Two seminarians made our best sampling, last summer. They called upon 160 families, approximately thirty per cent of the parish, for interviews of 30-60 minutes.

SOCIAL ORDER



*What happens  
when  
a community  
really wants to  
live  
intellectually*

J. B. GREMILLION

We discovered that of 160 husbands 123 had attended college for an average of three and a half years each. Among 160 wives, 73 had made college studies for an average of two and one-half years.

Of the total couples, 84 were mixed marriages. In our survey we interviewed non-Catholic spouses as well as Catholics. We found that among the 123 college men only fourteen (twelve per cent) had gone to Catholic colleges, while 109 (88 per cent) were products of non-Catholic campuses. A higher fraction of the wives (eighteen per cent) attended Catholic institutions.

If we take these as typical of the families who remove to suburbia, the present tenor of parish and Catholic community life offers little to the college person who would continue the quest of learning. And we have sought so hard to inculcate in students that education is a life-long process. Here rises a problem.

The graduate leaves an intellectual campus climate with its lectures and libraries, seminars and jam-sessions. The world he enters next, with its business and politics, diaper-changing and

country-clubbing, is an intellectual wasteland. His mind is after all still a tender plant and finding no suitable environment, the life of the mind quickly withers and dies. He needs prepared ground to sink his roots, he needs nourishment, he needs communication with others for cross-fertilization.

You cannot expect to nourish the life of the mind in fifteen minutes of talk from a pulpit once a week. Pulpits often embrace a terribly wide range of subjects, necessitating a shallow treatment. Most of the study groups and discussion clubs a parishioner encounters are kindergartens. Pamphlets only whet the appetite or frustrate it. Our monthly Catholic culture series featuring big-name lecturers offer hors d'oeuvres, not meat and potatoes.

### **The Roots**

To meet our own needs in this parish we experimented, and are still experimenting. We have brought together eventually a loose affiliation of men and women of the community who by associating wish to bestir their intellectual, cultural and vocational life as adults. This we have called our *Collegium*. Its roots go back some five years, when I began fortnightly chats with ten select men, with innate and developed traits of leadership, 30-40 years of age, who shared a common concern for the social problems of our city and our region: the integration of the Negro, labor-management relations, problems of the body politic, educational theory, family breakdown and so on.

These ten lawyers, doctors and businessmen had little knowledge of the encyclicals and the Church's social

teachings, and even less grasp of the philosophical and theological sources of social justice and charity. They perceived the inadequacy and rootlessness of the basic ideas motivating the social institutions in which they fulfill their role. They began asking: What are human rights? Whence derive duties? Why do men work? Why did God create natural resources? What is life all about? What is matter and spirit? The intellect and will? How do they operate? What of immortality? Good and evil? Who is God? Who *am* I? What is society? Its purpose and institutions? What is the meaning of history?

### Structure and Program

The organization's structure is simple: an executive committee of four laymen and myself as part-time director, all appointed by our Bishop upon our nomination. We hope to acquire a full-time director, probably a layman, and to incorporate under a state educational charter.

Our embryonic *Collegium* now sponsors four principal offerings: the *soirée*, the group, the newsletter, the library. Ten *soirées* this winter at 8 o'clock on alternate Sunday evenings each brought together 60 to 140 persons. Basic ideas are presented by a four-man panel, then explored and kicked around seminar-fashion by twenty to thirty more vocal audience participants. The executive committee selects the subjects and panelists a month in advance. Our first concern is for ideas, then we strive to perceive how these ideas influence issues and social institutions like the economy, education, race relations, the UN, the family. We often use books as idea sources.

About every two weeks we mail out a mimeographed newsletter to 650 persons. This heralds the coming *soirée*, gives panel background and the ideas likely to be aired; it reports on the last discussion with emphasis again on the ideas exchanged and principles drawn; it calls attention to new books and magazine articles on hand in the parish center where the *soirée* meets.

Our general areas of interest were going to be the family, the body politic, socio-economics, education, science and technology, medicine, the arts, world affairs. Leafing through the newsletters will reveal special *soirée* subjects. "The Twentieth Century Capitalist Revolution" was a discussion of ideas drawn from Berle's book of the same title. Are corporations developing "consciences?" A sense of morality and public duty? Accepting the moral concept of right and wrong? The corporation's world impact? The corporation and "the City of God."

Twenty-one articles are cited from the *Collegium* magazine rack, e.g., "For Men to Know," by Vannevar Bush from the *Atlantic Monthly*; "Science and Philosophy" by Pius XII from *The Pope Speaks*; Barbara Ward from the *New York Times*; "Democracy and Marxism," by Francis Wilson from *SOCIAL ORDER*; "Psychoanalysis and the Christian" by Karl Stern from *Commonweal*; articles on education from *Saturday Review, America* and *Harper's*.

Another *soirée* was "What is Man?" Man as a matter-spirit, body-soul composite — it treated the nature of the intellect and will, *via* ideas drawn from the *Image of His Maker* (Brennan). On this panel were four couples, including four medical doctors, who had met together semi-monthly in their

homes during the past year to pore over the relation of Thomistic rational psychology to modern medicine.

"The Origin and Nature of Law" was a panel of five lawyers which drew principally from Walter Lippmann's recent *Public Philosophy*, which pleads for a return to natural law. Three of these lawyers are non-Catholics. None of the panel ever attended Catholic high school or college. None had encountered anything but ridicule or evasion of the natural law philosophy at Tulane, Washington and Lee, Harvard and Louisiana State universities.

Other soirées treated "The United States and the UN," "Is Modern Day Education Effective?" (chaired by the dean of our city's Methodist college, with a panel including one of his faculty, the supervisor of our public school teachers, a public and a Jesuit high school teacher, a parent); "The Philosophical and Historical Roots of Communism;" "The Family: Origin, Nature and Purpose," "Parents as Co-Creators with God;" "Child to Youth to Adult Development," chaired by a Baptist psychiatrist; "What Makes Music?" was led by our local city symphony conductor, with members demonstrating instrumental families, technique and other points; "Geology — A Blueprint of God's Creation," with five prominent petroleum geologists, two non-Catholic, one of whom was still worried about the six days of Genesis.

The usual soirée lasts two and a half hours, with a midway break for coffee, tea and chatter. Let's readily admit the impossibility of digesting such pretentious palaver in a couple of hours. Let's admit that some might not follow all that goes on. They come to know that the world of the mind still exists,

they revive that nigh-lost art of conversation. And the pervading tone and temper is: God and man and the world we live in, today through the lens of eternity, the impact of Christ the God-man upon contemporary society, all the while seeking that *Verum et Bonum* which gives meaning to life.

"The Spirit breathes where It wills." All do not grasp to the same depth, all do not grow to the same height. Think of the *Collegium* in concentric circles — a small intense nucleus of five persons, the executive committee; a larger nucleus of thirty to forty who conduct the panels, exchange books and articles, meet at luncheon to talk about Citizen's Councils and the NAACP, or to plan a soirée — the five geologists met four times in two weeks, the doctors still meet, other groups as well.

Then comes a third concentric circle of a hundred and more who participate in the soirées, many of whom have something to say there and elsewhere in programs and conversation. The 650 who now receive the newsletter form a final circle of affiliation.

The *Collegium* is of the laity, by the laity and for the laity. Only three of the 41 panelists have been priests. The *Collegium* is for the whole community; about 150 non-Catholics receive the newsletter; 25 per cent of the participants are not of our Faith, and sixteen of the 38 lay panelists were non-Catholic. But we must not make the mistake of thinking only in individual terms. Ours is a social movement; we aim at influencing the whole of society and its institutions through ideas. We believe that all things will be restored to Christ when the Truth of the Eternal Idea becomes incarnate in society.

# U. S. Protestants and Race

RAYMOND BERNARD, S.J.

THEORY ON RACE and the formal statements often are excellent," a cultured Southern social scientist told me last month, "but our Protestant practice has been terribly laggard."

Protestantism "cannot escape responsibility in relation to [the] solution [of the race question], a responsibility of which it is becoming aware but in the discharge of which it has made only dim beginnings. The record of its policies and practices makes it evident that in many respects it has contributed to the seriousness of the very problem it should be helping to solve." So concluded Frank Loescher, a Quaker, in 1947.<sup>1</sup>

Such an analysis seems to have been valid for many years. More than a century ago, for instance, the American Missionary Association, formed by a number of Northern sectarian mission boards, began to wage a campaign against slavery. It set up a network of schools in the South for freedmen (since local laws forbade the education of slaves), but by the close of the Civil War, because of the withdrawal of Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, United Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Quakers and others, the AMA had to continue its school work chiefly

through Congregationalist support.<sup>2</sup> As a result the early generations of Negro graduates entered the Congregationalist body.

The vast mass of Negroes was unwelcome in the Southern churches of their former owners.<sup>3</sup> True, some had been allowed to worship in "the slave gallery," apart from white parishioners, an arrangement that let the whites keep an eye on their conduct.

Consequently the scattered few Negro churches, such as the Baptist congregation established in South Carolina in 1773 and the Episcopal Church for Negroes dating from 1787, mushroomed phenomenally as all-Negro bodies after the Civil War.<sup>4</sup> It had become evident that Negroes were not desirable in the white churches. As early as 1844, with the virtual suspension of Bishop James O. Andrew, the Methodist schism over slavery initiated a number of breaks which indicated a wide diversity of opinion regarding the Negro.<sup>5</sup>

Thus the historical pattern was set, and so it remains generally unchanged

<sup>2</sup> Mervin M. Deems, "The Congregational Christian Churches," in *The American Church*, edited by V. Ferm, Philosophical Library, New York, 1953, p. 176.

<sup>3</sup> Maurice Davies, *The Negro in American Society*, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1949, pp. 176-7.

<sup>4</sup> Davies, *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Leonard L. Haynes, Jr. *The Negro Com-*

<sup>1</sup> Frank S. Loescher, *The Protestant Church and the Negro*, Association Press, New York, 1948, p. 27. See also p. 106.



today, although as the Southern scientist said, a few persons think that as Negroes once were permitted to occupy the "slave gallery," some integration would not be intolerable today.

### First Survey

Loescher's study, made for the earlier Federal Council of Churches and published in 1948, found that separation had become practically complete,\* and the next year Liston Pope, then associate professor in the Yale University divinity school, could write: "Nearly every Protestant congregation is composed exclusively of persons from one particular race group." In April, 1952, Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College in Atlanta, could still say that in the church-related Southern colleges "all other minority groups are welcomed before the Negro is welcomed."<sup>9</sup>

The overall picture had changed little, if we are to believe Homer A. Jack, writing in the *Christian Century*, February 21, 1951. "The Protestant churches," he concluded, "are as segregated as they were ten years ago. The principal gain is that many churches have begun to feel apologetic about segregation in the house of God."

Loescher's survey had revealed that less than one-half of one per cent of Negro Protestants mingled in "white" congregations.<sup>10</sup> Even in the few ex-

isting mixtures, the extent was extremely slight. In 13,000 churches [congregations] surveyed, Loescher found 294 white groups with 1,321 Negro members. Five individual churches accounted for about one-third of this total, leaving 869 Negroes scattered among 289 other congregations, an average of three Negroes per congregation.

Such an unquestioned picture of strict segregation was enough to increase concern in at least those denominational leaders stirred by the ecumenical spirit.<sup>11</sup> In 1921 a race relations department was set up by the Federal Council of Churches. From 1908 to 1929 six resolutions were adopted by the seventeen bodies studied by Loescher, and the subject usually was concern over mob violence.<sup>12</sup> "The first notable sign of a shift in outlook (towards facing their own problems of segregation) came at the Oxford Conference in 1937. This worldwide gathering, representing virtually all the non-Roman Christian bodies, resolved that in the church 'there can be no place for barriers because of race or color . . . no place for exclusion or segregation because of race or color.' Other denominational and interdenominational bodies have since begun to examine their own policies and practices. The Federal Council of Churches, in a special meeting at Columbus, O., in March, 1946, adopted a forthright statement on segregation which com-

munity within American Protestantism, Boston, 1953, pp. 205-8. The bishop had inherited some slaves.

\* Loescher, *ibid.*, p. 63.

<sup>7</sup> Liston Pope, "Caste in the Church," *Survey Graphic*, January, 1947, p. 59 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Reported at conference on "The Courts and Racial Integration," Howard University, April, 1952.

<sup>9</sup> P. 234.

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 77.

<sup>11</sup> Dwight W. Culver, "Segregation in the Methodist Church," *Christian Century*, April 14, 1948, p. 325-6.

<sup>12</sup> *The Social Work of the Churches*, F. Ernest Johnson, ed., Dept. of Research and Education of the Federal Council of Churches, New York, 1930, pp. 154-55.



mitted it to 'work for a non-segregated church and a non-segregated society' and urged its constituent denominations to study and correct their own practices."<sup>13</sup>

In the 'Thirties 27 statements on race relations were issued by the same groups, and these likewise focused on lynching, with some attention to economic discrimination.<sup>14</sup> The concern and awareness of the church leaders were growing steadily, as evidenced soon by the "flood of pronouncements"—nearly 80—which for the first time recognized economic discrimination.<sup>15</sup> Four denominations endorsed the idea of the Fair Employment Practices Committee and three favored congressional action to set up a permanent F.E.P.C. The wave of statements in the 'Forties showed a deepening awareness of discrimination against Negroes, an increased need of self-examination<sup>16</sup> and a stronger concentration on attitudes of church members. There were particular endorsements by several denominations of state legislation on F.E.P., denouncement by four denominations of residential segregation, the urging<sup>17</sup> by the Presbyterian Church (U.S.) that local churches "establish interracial commit-

tees in their communities to promote opportunities for joint worship," Presbyterian stressing of civil rights and their condemnation of anti-minority activities, the thrice-repeated Baptist resolutions urging equal opportunity within the segregation framework.

### Implementation

Toward the end of the period of resolution-making, some implementation began to take place. The Federal Council appointed a committee to look into minority membership in churches in 1942. An Atlanta interchurch convocation (December, 1949) recommended that ministerial associations become interracial, that heads of families promote understanding in the home, that minority members be appointed to public positions, that members join and cooperate with interracial committees and that there be systematic interchange of ministers, speakers and choirs between Negro and white churches.<sup>18</sup> Two years earlier the metropolitan church federation of St. Louis voted to "ask the churches . . . to cease the practice of segregation in their local churches and church institutions; that is, to open their doors to fellowship and service regardless of race or color." The federation president was quoted as saying that he was glad Catholics had pioneered in the matter.<sup>19</sup> This action took place October 31, 1947, following Archbishop Joseph E. Ritter's action on school segregation<sup>20</sup> and the appearance of *To Secure These Rights* (October 29, 1947). Among a few local ministers

<sup>13</sup>Culver, *loc. cit.* A certain sameness may be noted in the procession of statements, even in the Methodist resolution of 1956.

<sup>14</sup>Loescher, *loc. cit.*, p. 34.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 34-35.

<sup>16</sup>Cf. Culver, *loc. cit.*, and Loescher, *op. cit.*, ch. 2, "What the Churches Say." See also *Presbyterian Outlook*, April 29, 1946, report on Presbyterian Negro work.

<sup>17</sup>Yet as recently as June 11, 1952, the Presbyterian delegates to the National Council meeting opposed the adoption of the same statement issued in 1946 by the Federal Council as "coercive" and not gradual enough in its call for action. See *Christian Century*, June 25, 1952, pp. 743-4.

Some 44 Atlanta Presbyterian ministers this April urged their fellow churchmen to face integration honestly.

<sup>18</sup>Information Service, Dec. 17, 1949, p. 4.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, Dec. 27, 1947, p. 4.

<sup>20</sup>The Catholic development is recorded in *Catholic Mind*, Oct., 1953, p. 613.

objection was reported ("time is not ripe," and so on).<sup>21</sup>

### Penitence for Mistakes

A "policy of exclusion" and "hush-hush" was seen in a report on YMCA Negro-white relations in 24 cities published in 1946.<sup>22</sup> In April of that year a Presbyterian committee on Negro work seriously questioned the adequacy of current and past work among Negroes and spoke of the need for "genuine penitence on the part of our church as a whole, and . . . a determined effort to remedy some of the mistakes we have made in the past."<sup>23</sup> In 1950 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.) was unsegregated for the first time and the Montreat (North Carolina) conference headquarters promptly set a policy of non-segregation.<sup>24</sup> The Richmond Presbyterian seminary had already been admitting Negro graduate students several years. In 1951 the same denomination's segregated Southern Synod was quietly dissolved and its Negro constituency taken into the Alabama, Louisiana and Georgia synods.<sup>25</sup>

However, the Presbyterian pastor in a North Carolina town is reported as having been dropped from his charge because, as close observers hold, his views on racial integration were too liberal to suit his parishioners. In At-

lanta a Unitarian minister, Isaiah Dumas, was obliged to resign in 1948 because of his "espousal of racial equality."<sup>26</sup> A Los Angeles Baptist pastor resigned, allegedly because of his disagreement on race with his people.<sup>27</sup> Such misfortune, experienced observers say, is precisely the fate feared by any minister who may want to speak out. That this is happening more often of late is indicated by the recent pledge of the Virginia council of churches to support ministers who may be penalized for discussing from their pulpits issues growing out of the school segregation decision.

For each pastor depends for sustenance on his local congregation because of the loose organizational structure of the denominations. Bishops and high officials are practically powerless in influencing local members. Such a setup explains the "terribly laggard practice" at local level, as well as the isolated attempts at integration. It explains too the apparent tendency to extol the several successful projects, such as the "Interracial Fellowship of Greater New York," a group formed in 1943 and promoting better racial feeling for at least the next four years through integrated programs; or the two California churches catering to small mixed groups.<sup>28</sup>

But the more frequent statements<sup>29</sup> by official meetings, as well as the concerted effort of small groups like Christian Action and the Federation of

<sup>21</sup>Information Service, December 27, 1947.

<sup>22</sup>The Racial Factor in Y.M.C.A.'s: A Report on Negro-White Relationships in Twenty-Four Cities, Association Press, New York, 1946.

<sup>23</sup>Presbyterian Outlook, quoted in Information Service, May 25, 1946.

<sup>24</sup>Information Service, June 26, 1950.

<sup>25</sup>The Church Reaches out in the South: Third Annual Report of the Board of Church Education, the Presbyterian Church in the United States, for the year 1951-1952. Atlanta, 1952.

<sup>26</sup>Christian Century, June 23, 1948, p. 632.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., June 4, 1952, p. 662.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., June 4, 1952, p. 604.

<sup>29</sup>Even as late as May, 1956, when delegates at the Methodist convention seriously discussed the issues but compromised on a statement. A statement signed by 21 prominent Baptist leaders (several Georgians) issued in April said, "Prejudice

Southern Churchmen, and the deeper concern<sup>30</sup> resulting from the growing scope and probing examination manifest in both statement and action have been slowly softening the popular attitude. It is truly a gradual process, and the clearcut milestones are small but encouraging.

A short run-down of the other larger denominations may indicate some major trends, but cannot account for scattered changes that receive little publicity.

The Southern Baptists have little progress to report. They have declared an open policy for their New Orleans seminary regarding graduate students, while the Wayland (Texas) seminary accepts Negro undergraduates.<sup>31</sup> Other seminaries open at graduate level are Wake Forest, Fort Worth and Louisville (the latter with Negro students).<sup>32</sup> Several individual churches claim varying degrees of Negro mem-

bership, but the steady expansion of the Southern sect to the West and Northwest has been an embarrassment because of the prevalent segregation policy. In 1951, for example, a Baptist church in Los Angeles (which later lost its outspoken pastor) followed its selective regulation calling for a nine-tenths majority vote on admission of two Negro applicants.<sup>33</sup>

The Episcopalians are reported to have general segregation, with some rare but increasing instances of integration. The hierarchy has Negro priests, deacons and other officials, all of whom participate in church affairs freely, but even here, again, parishioner control has stalled integration at the lowest level. Race policy at Sewanee (Episcopalian divinity school in Tennessee) was changed after scathing criticism by a New York minister.<sup>34</sup> Bishops have little ecclesiastical power and authority to translate doctrine into practice (the same plaint is made, perhaps a little enviously, by varying observers in other denominations also). One women's auxiliary served as host to six other parishes recently, one of which was all-Negro, with the four Negro representatives thoroughly accepted. Later a mixed youth group met at the same church, and various Episcopal groups of the Southeast have had interracial meetings. Some observers see a certain economic and social independence as motivating several outspoken Episcopalians speakers.

Long divided into Northern and Southern factions because of the slavery issue, the Methodists have been unable to smooth over the serious

against persons or mistreatment of persons on the grounds of race is contrary to the will of God." After 44 Southern Presbyterian leaders defended segregation in the *Southern Presbyterian Journal* for April, 1956, 42 others called for "Christian moderation and calmness." Baptist youth groups in North Carolina and West Virginia made strong protests against segregation.

<sup>30</sup>This concern is evident in repeated references in periodicals, but especially in the F.S.C. organ *Prophetic Religion*. More evidence of this probing can be seen in letters in the correspondence columns of *The Christian Century* and its frequent articles on the racial question, e.g., "South Not Solid for Segregation," H. G. Ruark, Aug. 18, 1954, p. 990; "Miami Spurns Integration," A. C. Taft, Oct. 19, 1955, p. 1220; "Carolinas Spurn Integration," Henry G. Ruark, Oct. 26, 1955, p. 1246; "Methodists Live in Glass Houses," D. C. Vandercook, March 7, 1956, pp. 296-9; "Test at Trumbull Park," Homer A. Jack, March 21, 1956, p. 366; "Random Thoughts of a Sun-Seeker," Paul Hutchinson, May 2, 1956, p. 543.

<sup>31</sup>*Information Service*, April 21, 1951.

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*, April 21, 1951.

<sup>33</sup>*Christian Century*, November 14, 1951, p. 1302.

<sup>34</sup>*New York Times*, Feb. 13, p. 15.

wrangle<sup>85</sup> on their "Central Jurisdiction," a segregated body without relation to the geographical boundaries of the other jurisdictions (similar to dioceses). Originally the Southern branch opposed the creation of a special jurisdiction for Negroes, advocating instead a distinct and separated Methodist church for them; but since reunion in 1939, the former Southern branch has staunchly upheld the Central Jurisdiction against those who characterize it as segregational in their desire to abolish it.<sup>86</sup> Dissension is proven once more by the hesitation of the official convention in April-May, 1956, to take a strong stand on the subject of integration. The subject was seen as too inflammatory.<sup>87</sup> While Methodist ministers of greater Atlanta voted "unalterable opposition" to the Georgia legislature's plan to drop public schools, still an observer (Paul Hutchinson) found that Methodist bishops of the general area made "horrifying comments" on race relations.<sup>88</sup>

### Methodist Variance

One or two of the white Methodist colleges *may* today be open to Negroes. According to report, the problem is complicated for the Candler School of Theology at Emory University (Atlanta) which now benefits under tax exemption, but would lose exemption by adopting an unsegregated policy. Meantime the denomination maintains Gammon, at Atlanta University, to train Negro Methodist ministers. South-

ern Methodist Perkins School of Theology at Dallas has enrolled Negroes.

Hutchinson observed that Methodist women deserve recognition for their brave attitudes and acts. "I have heard some of them speak disparagingly of the caution of their menfolk, especially in the episcopal ranks. When one remembers that the old justification for the segregation system was the need to protect southern womanhood, the decisive stand taken by these churchwomen is as amazing as it is heartening."<sup>89</sup>

Of the smaller denominations the Unitarians have somewhat proudly taken the forefront. Several of their churches are open, as in Richmond, Charleston, Atlanta and Washington. Of New England derivation, this denomination is locally looked on as not too influential.

The Congregationalists include some "liberals" and some instances of tries at integration. Their chief efforts are, however, concentrated on Fisk University at Nashville, where the race relations department has pioneered in institutes, community surveys (San Francisco, Pittsburgh and Minneapolis) and similar work under the guidance of Dr. Charles S. Johnson.<sup>90</sup>

The numerous small rural sects generally remain bitterly segregationist. Thus on April 16, 1956, a Texas Citizens Council meeting heard Rev. W. L. Lowry, an Assembly of God pastor, uphold the Christianity of segregation.<sup>91</sup> Attempts at integration are quite rare, although one "snake-han-

<sup>85</sup>Dwight Culver, *Negro Segregation in the Methodist Church*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1953, p. 79-118.

<sup>86</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>87</sup>St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, April 26, 1956, 3E.

<sup>88</sup>*Loc. cit.*

<sup>89</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 544.

<sup>90</sup>Reports on the annual institutes are published by the Race Relations Department.

<sup>91</sup>Mimeographed announcement by Ross Carlton, president.



dling" congregation in Tennessee announced it would admit Negroes—but it is reported that as soon as the services began in earnest, the Negroes departed.

An interesting project is a summer institute on race relations held by Dr. Galen Weaver at Eden Seminary in St. Louis, one event of which has been a profitable joint session with the Catholic Interracial Council of St. Louis.

### Conclusions

These instances indicate the need of newer approaches besides the head-on attack from the the conventions and pulpits. Writers lament the great number of statements, the occasional effort at integration. Some leaders have therefore emphasized a flank attack through the elimination of segregation and discrimination in jobs, schools, hospitals, public places and particularly in residence.<sup>42</sup> So long as racially exclusive residential patterns are the rule, they hold, the local Protestant church will tend to serve communicants of one race.

A more recent survey, by Oscar Lee and Alfred Kramer of the National Council of Churches, has led observers to say that the picture is changing. Kramer discovered that 1,331 (9.8 per cent) predominantly white congregations among 13,597 United Lutheran, Congregational Christian and Presbyterian (U.S.A.) churches reported some nonwhite persons as members or attenders. These figures, however, only confirm Loescher's conviction as expressed in 1956 that "The effort for an inclusive church, however, has trailed far behind the movement for integration in employment and the armed

forces. . . ."<sup>43</sup> Although at first sight Kramer's 1,331 congregations are certainly many more than Loescher's 294, Kramer included all "nonwhite" persons, while the other figure is exclusively Negro and was probably drawn from a more representative universe.

The numerous resolutions, the discussions and the slight tangible change have produced in some Protestant churchmen a certain frustration. Hutchinson wrote, shortly before his death, that something "which has both interested and somewhat amused me is the bafflement of some Methodists and Baptists over what to do about the Roman Catholic stand on race. They know that the Catholic archbishop of Saint Louis, followed by that bishop in North Carolina, but most of all by Archbishop Rummell [*sic*] of New Orleans have run away with the ball so far as the churches are concerned."<sup>44</sup>

There are few efforts at philosophical analysis. In a recent book, *The Church and Social Responsibility*, Walter W. Sikes describes the Protestant attitude toward race from an equalitarian-humanitarian viewpoint, with one passing reference to "Greco-Roman philosophy and law."<sup>45</sup> Buell Gallagher, now president of City College of New York, has perhaps done most to put discussion on a philosophical level, as witness his words: "The integrationist position is precisely what the Christian ethic requires—that every man, woman and child shall be free to enter into and

<sup>42</sup>Culver, *op. cit.*, p. 40. Loescher had pointed out such a need, *op. cit.*, p. 107 ff.

<sup>43</sup>In "Protestant Churches—Are They Racially Inclusive?" *The City Church*, March, 1952, Kramer reports on his study. Loescher's views are given in "Racism in Northern City Churches," *Christian Century*, Feb. 8, 1956, p. 175.

<sup>44</sup>*Loc. cit.*, p. 544.

<sup>45</sup>P. 78. Edited by J. Richard Spann (Abingdon-Cokesbury, Nashville, Tenn., 1953).



contribute to the welfare of all mankind, without any restrictions or disabilities based on color caste—and without any advantages because of color or the lack of it.”<sup>46</sup>

Reinhold Niebuhr also has made some penetrating comment: “The moral attitudes of dominant and privileged groups are characterized by universal self-deception and hypocrisy. The unconscious and conscious identification of their special interests with general interests and universal values, which we have noted in analyzing national attitudes, is equally obvious in the attitude of classes. . . .”<sup>47</sup>

### Figures Eloquent

Some specific figures cited by Loescher back up his standing thesis. “The New York state commission against discrimination has a yearly budget of over \$400,000; the Philadelphia commission on human relations has one of \$250,000. How much do all the Protestant denominations spend in a year to develop an integrated church and an integrated society? Less than \$250,000. How many people with major responsibilities for race relations are employed in all the Protestant denominations? Less than a dozen.”<sup>48</sup>

Under these eloquent circumstances, some observers feel, the Negro makes no strong effort to leave his segregated churches, seeing little proof that he

would be wanted in Protestantism's white denominations. He would probably agree with Loescher's summary.<sup>49</sup>

If one were to write a history of Protestantism's relations to Negroes the balance sheet would be heavily on the debit side. Protestantism arose in the time of European exploitation of nonwhite peoples. It blessed slavery.<sup>50</sup> It sanctioned a caste system with its stamp of inferiority on a whole race. But there were exceptions. Individuals and some groups became sensitive to the incompatibility of the Christian ethic and the slave system. Some dedicated their lives to teaching the freedmen.<sup>51</sup>

Latterly this number of concerned individuals has grown and we find many church members devotedly working for “a non-segregated Church and a non-segregated society.” Although Protestantism, by its policies and practice is still actually contributing to the segregation of Negro Americans, there is some profound ground for confidence that the intelligence and devotion of these pioneers will show a way. Let us hope that it may come sooner than we think.

Loescher's sobering data made the outlook dim. Since then—and in some measure due to his findings and inspired by his call to action—there have been sporadic advances, serious thought and a sense of inadequacy on many fronts where before there had been only hope. In the face of the heavy odds and challenging past, any smallest advance is both an achievement and a promise.

<sup>46</sup>*Color and Conscience*, Harper, New York, 1946, p. 173.

<sup>47</sup>*Moral Man and Immoral Society*, Scribners, New York, 1932, p. 117.

<sup>48</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 176.

<sup>49</sup>Loescher, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

<sup>50</sup>Frank Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen*, Knopf, New York, 1947.

<sup>51</sup>Fred L. Brownlee, *New Day Ascending*, Pilgrim Press, Boston, 1946.

Causes and effects  
in technological change

## EXPERTS LOOK AT AUTOMATION

E. A. KURTH

**A** VERITABLE proliferation of writing and talk has shot up in the last five years on automation. These ranged from Norbert Wiener's studies in cybernetics, investigating analogies between the human nervous system and various electronic control devices, through a complete battery of technical articles on the application of automation to different industries, to essays on the possible social and economic implications of the new developments. A temporary high point was reached in October, 1955, when the Subcommittee on Economic Stabilization of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report conducted hearings on automation and technological change.<sup>1</sup> The hearings were called in response to requests from several quar-

ters. Organized labor had been especially desirous of securing more information on the possible unemployment effects of the new development.

The Schedule of Hearings<sup>2</sup> indicates their scope. Testimony was provided under the following headings: 1. What is automation: general setting; 2. automation in the metalworking industry; 3. automation in data processing and the office; 4. automation in the chemical industry; 5. automation in the electronics industry; 6. automation in the transportation industry; 7. automation in the communications industry; 8. investigations of the Labor Department on the impact of automation; and 9. the place of innovation and technology in a free enterprise system. Testimony was given by representatives of labor, industry, government, education and private research organizations.

<sup>1</sup> Joint Committee on the Economic Report. Subcommittee on Economic Stabilization. *Hearings on Automation and Technological Change*. Eighty-fourth Congress. First Session. Washington: United States Government Printing Office. 1955. 644 pp.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

## Definitions

It was evident from the outset that testimony would reveal widely differing attitudes toward automation. Although none of the witnesses condemned the movement some expressed reservations on its ultimate effects. Fundamental attitudes were indicated by the definitions given. In general, union spokesmen regarded automation as heralding a second (or third) Industrial Revolution, while industry spokesmen were inclined to regard it as merely another step in the evolution of mechanized processes. Mr. D. S. Harder (Ford Motor Co.), who is generally credited with having coined the term "automation," defines it as "the automatic handling of parts between progressive production processes."<sup>2</sup> Mr. John Diebold (researcher in the problems of automation, author of an outstanding study)<sup>3</sup> gives the following definition: "Automation is a means of analyzing, organizing and controlling our production processes to achieve optimum use of all our productive resources — mechanical and material as well as human."<sup>4</sup> Mr. Walter S. Buckingham, Jr. (Georgia Institute of Technology) stated that any definition must be based on an analysis of four principles involved: mechanization, feedback, continuous process and rationalization.<sup>5</sup> Dr. Edwin G. Nourse (Former Chairman, Council of Economic Advisers) tends to accept Prof. Bucking-

ham's ideas but prefers to place the principle of "continuous process" in second place "because [it] has been a part of the story of mechanization from early flour-milling through meat packing to the automobile assembly line."<sup>6</sup> Mr. Robert C. Tait (Stromberg-Carlson Co. and General Dynamics Corp.) enunciates the view that "automation adds to mechanization only the notion of 'feedback' which is handled by electronic means."<sup>7</sup>

Of special interest to the economist is the ingenious diagram furnished by Arnold Tustin,<sup>8</sup> showing how the feedback principle may be applied to Keynes' theory of employment and income determination. This appears to introduce the concept of a self-equilibrating system into the Keynesian schema—a notion generally regarded by economists as alien to Keynes.

The labor displacement effect is emphasized in the definition of Mr. James B. Carey, Secretary-Treasurer of the CIO and President of the IUE. He states: "When I speak of automation, I am referring to the use of mechanical and electronic devices, rather than human workers, to regulate and control the operation of machines."<sup>9</sup> A different economic consideration is contained in the statement of Ralph E. Cross (Cross Co.), who regards automation as "the application of cost-reducing machines and techniques."<sup>10</sup> A "biological" definition is given by Mr. S. R. Hursh (Pennsylvania Railroad): "The only real automation to my mind is the

<sup>2</sup> D. S. Harder, *Automation—Key to the Future*. An address delivered before the Quad-City Conference on Automation at Davenport, Iowa, on Aug. 27, 1954, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> John Diebold, *Automation: The Advent of the Automatic Factory*, Van Nostrand, New York, 1952. 181 pp.

<sup>4</sup> *Hearings*, p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 619. See also the testimony of Dr. A. V. Astin, p. 573f of *Hearings*.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 197.

<sup>8</sup> Arnold Tustin, "Feedback," *Scientific American*, Sept., 1952, p. 48-53.

<sup>9</sup> *Hearings*, p. 220.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 502.

human heartbeat, which is not subject to conscious control of man. Automation, therefore, is nothing more than controlled mechanization whether that control be electronic or mechanical."<sup>12</sup> The fundamental question whether automation is, or is not, something new appears to be resolved by Dr. Edwin G. Nourse, who holds that "something new was added when electronic devices made possible the widespread application of the feedback principle."<sup>13</sup>

### Reasons for Introducing

Before leaving the subject of definitions, it may be helpful to explain what is meant by "feedback." Diebold explains it by contrasting *open-loop* and *closed-loop control*.<sup>14</sup> An open-loop control system has two important characteristics: 1. it can exercise control at low energy levels, that is, the energy expended in turning a switch or in opening a valve need have no particular relation to the energy that is being controlled; and 2. the control element can be placed at a great physical distance from the element being controlled, e.g., detonating a TNT charge by pressure on a key in an office for the opening of work on a dam two thousand miles away. The outstanding characteristic of *closed-loop* control is the *ability to correct errors*. An example is the thermostat in one's living room, which involves the feedback principle.

Some witnesses advanced reasons why automation had been introduced in their firms. No one stated that the purpose was to displace labor, although

higher wages were mentioned. The desire to reduce costs, or to maintain them at reduced levels, was also mentioned. Product improvement, greater safety and customer satisfaction were advanced as reasons by some employers. Mr. Cross alleged the following "motivating forces for the application of automation:" higher wages, lower prices, higher profits, improved product quality and greater safety. Ira Wolfert relates the following story about the Corning Glass Co.:

Only five years ago the company was selling 20-inch TV blanks for \$75 and losing money on each one. It wanted to create a demand for these tubes and believed its engineers could devise machinery to cut costs sharply. At that time, no one had been able to handle more than a four-pound gob of molten glass. Now there is an eight-headed machine that takes a 15-pound gob in each of its craniums and whirls it until it becomes the funnel of a picture tube. So Corning is selling 21-inch blanks for \$8.50 instead of \$75 and making money on them, and 2000 people have jobs that didn't exist before.<sup>15</sup>

A somewhat similar narrative is given by Don G. Mitchell (Sylvania), who showed that the price of a typical radio receiving tube had been reduced from \$6.20 in the early 1930's to about \$1.50 at the present time, while the average direct labor costs had increased about fivefold over the same period of time and profits per unit had been reduced from 25c to 5c.<sup>16</sup> Mr. S. R. Hursh of the Pennsy gave the following reasons for installing automatic switching yards:

For the sole purpose of providing better and faster customer service because of the

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 543.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 619.

<sup>14</sup>Diebold, *op. cit.*, p. 11f.

<sup>15</sup>Ira Wolfert, "What's Behind This Word 'Automation?'" *Reader's Digest*, May, 1955, p. 43-48.

<sup>16</sup>*Hearings*, p. 175.

competitive situation, to increase operating efficiency, cut *per diem* and operating costs and minimize damage to loading.<sup>17</sup>

Later, under direct interrogation, the following question and answer were reported:

Question 4 (By Mr. Grover W. Ensley, Staff Director): To what extent if any have labor costs been a factor in spurring the introduction of automated freight yards?

Answer (By Mr. S. R. Hursh): The continued increase in labor costs has been one of the major factors prompting management to introduce retarder yards.<sup>18</sup>

Mr. Edwin M. McPherson of Lester B. Knight & Associates gave the following reasons for introducing automation:

While automation is a response to general economic conditions there are at least three drives toward automation which can be distinguished. These are 1. foreign competition, 2. increasing material and labor costs and 3. new standards of safety.<sup>19</sup>

Mr. Clifton W. Phalen (Michigan Bell Telephone Co.) gave his company's reasons for introducing automation:

We have introduced dial equipment and many other scientific and technological improvements throughout the years for three basic reasons: to improve the quality and usefulness of telephone service, to satisfy the demand for service, and to keep the cost of our product at a reasonable level.<sup>20</sup>

### Extent of Automation

Present conditions in the field of automation furnish a clue as to its future development, in terms of industries most likely to be affected. Diebold states that "it is difficult to pre-

dict how far automation will progress either with respect to its effect on employment or the number of firms that will use automatic equipment."<sup>21</sup> The following sectors of the economy will almost certainly *not* be automated: agriculture, trade, service, construction, mining and the professional field.

The fields of industry *most susceptible to automation* are also listed in Diebold's testimony. They include:

bakery products, beverages, confectionery, rayon, knit goods, paperboard containers, printing, chemicals, petroleum refining, glass products, cement, agricultural machinery, miscellaneous machinery, communications, limited price retailing.<sup>22</sup>

To anticipate later discussion of the possible unemployment effects of automation, it should be added that these industries employ only about eight per cent of the total labor force.

Prof. Buckingham approaches the same subject by listing three groups to which automation will be applied and shows how differently they will be affected.<sup>23</sup> The first group includes those industries in which production can be reduced to a *continuous flow process*: for instance, oil refining, flour milling, chemical production — areas in which automation has made large strides and will probably continue to make significant progress. A second class includes industries in which some automation is possible, but full or nearly complete automation is unlikely. These are industries which require substantial information-handling and accounting but in which continuous flow is not possible, such as transportation, large-scale retailing, manufacture of certain non-standardized consumer

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 544.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 560f.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 638.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 516.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 26.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 26.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 32.



products like furniture. The third group includes those in which no significant application of automation seems likely because of the highly individualistic nature of the product, the need for personal services and the advantages of small-scale units or vast space requirements—agriculture, mining, professional fields and most construction and retailing.

The following statements show considerable restraint in the matter:

... We have found it more misleading than helpful to think in terms of "the automatic factory," which does not seem likely to become a practical proposition in the manufacturing industries within the foreseeable future.<sup>24</sup>

And again:

... It [automation] is less likely to come as a tidal wave than as a succession of groundswells that will reach different industries at different times and with quite different impacts.<sup>25</sup>

### Effects of Automation

This is the aspect which most interests us and on which the most divergent opinions have been expressed. Before taking a rather close look at the employment effects, let us indicate in a general way the different effects of automation. These have been given by Prof. Buckingham under *eight* headings which are abbreviated as follows:

1. Many direct production jobs are abolished.
2. A smaller number of newer jobs requiring different and mostly higher skills are created.
3. The requirements of some of the remaining jobs are raised.
4. Production in aggregate and per man-hour is enormously increased.

<sup>24</sup>George B. Baldwin and George P. Schultz, "Automation: a New Dimension to Old Problems," Industrial Relations Research Association. Papers presented at Detroit, Mich., Dec. 28-30, 1954, p. 114-28.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 119.

5. Production of new and better goods of more standardized quality becomes possible. (A less desirable by-product may well be loss of variety.)

6. There is an increase in quality and accuracy of information and the speed with which it is obtained.

7. In most cases a more efficient use is made of all the components of production—labor, capital, natural resources and management.

8. A continuous pace is often set at which the plant must be operated.<sup>26</sup>

These effects may be summarized under the headings *employment, productivity and efficiency*.

Additional effects are cited by two other witnesses, Mr. D. J. Davis and Mr. Clifton Phalen, within the context of "benefits of automation." Mr. Davis (Ford Motor Co.) formulates these benefits:

Where automation can be economically applied . . . the benefits may be five-fold: increased production, lower accident rate, lower direct labor costs, improved quality in the product and reduced floor-space requirements.<sup>27</sup>

In the telephone industry, necessity has mothered the development of automation. The effects are much the same as the reasons alleged for introducing the dial system in the first place.<sup>28</sup> They include the improved quality and scope of service, a wider variety of services, maintenance of reasonable cost of service and expanded usage.<sup>29</sup>

A rather extreme example of a benefit from automation is cited by Gilbert W. King:<sup>30</sup>

The most efficient means of recording is by photography and binary digits. The

<sup>26</sup>*Hearings*, p. 33.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 56.

<sup>28</sup>See also footnote 20.

<sup>29</sup>*Hearings*, p. 518f.

<sup>30</sup>Gilbert W. King, "Information," *Scientific American*, Sept., 1952, pp. 132-148.

finest commercial emulsion provides 32,400 resolvable dots or blanks per square millimeter. Allowing for the fact that at present the emulsion has to be mounted on a glass plate a millimeter thick, we have a medium which will store 40 million bits per cubic centimeter. If translated to binary code and recorded as black and white spots on this emulsion, all words in all the books of the Library of Congress could be stored in a cubic yard.<sup>31</sup>

This is a technician speaking, without reference to the cost involved!

Dr. Vannevar Bush (Carnegie Institution of Washington) is particularly impressed by the decreased "flexibility of a given industrial production operation" that is occasioned by automation. This tends to "increase the costs of changeover"<sup>32</sup> and has additional effects, both in concentration of industry and in improving the position of small businesses engaged in the production of highly specialized instruments. This appears to be somewhat of a mixed blessing. Witness the full statement of Dr. Bush:

The point I wish to make is that if large manufacturing companies turn to automation in extreme form, they thereby not only make a market for small companies . . . but they also increase their own rigidity and render it more possible for the small industrial unit to prosper by reason of its inherent flexibility. This seems to me an important point, for I have long felt that our primary reliance against undue concentration of industry in this country lies in the continued advent of new small, aggressive industrial units. Thus automation may have some effects that tend to increase the size and relative proportion of production of large units, but it also has important effects in just the other direction.<sup>33</sup>

The possible effect of increasing the proportion of production by a few

large producers is well illustrated by what has happened in the automobile industry during the past couple of years. It seems possible to adduce several reasons for the mad scramble to produce automobiles in 1955, and it is frankly admitted today that the industry did, in fact, overproduce. At least part of the explanation of this phenomenon may be sought in the "decreased flexibility" cited by Dr. Bush. One of the major cost items in auto production is the cost of a model changeover. Major changes are normally made every second year. The large producers can afford to spend the \$100 million, or more, required for new dies since this huge fixed cost is averaged out over more than a million cars produced by each of the "Big Three." The "Little Two," meanwhile, are caught both coming and going.<sup>34</sup> Although they may succeed in retooling at a cost of "only" \$50 - \$60 million, they are placed thereby at a twofold disadvantage: first, they cannot offer as wide a selection of models and styles as the Big Three, and thus lose much of the sales appeal of their line; and, second, by producing a much smaller number of automobiles *in toto* they still pay more *per unit* of product for the dies installed in the model changeover. Both elements place them at a competitive disadvantage and improve the prospects for the Big Three to run away with the lion's share of the market. There is even talk that the "Little Two" may have trouble in coming up with model changes every two years. This applies specifically to the possibilities for 1957. This sort of pressure upon small

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 145.

<sup>32</sup>*Hearings*, p. 615.

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 615.

<sup>34</sup>"Little Two," *Wall Street Journal*, March 16, 1956, p. 1.

producers cannot continue indefinitely without effecting radical changes in the proportions of output, and the eventual alignments in the automotive industry.

Other effects have been noted. Diebold notes that we could not have developed "our atomic program if it were not for self-regulating controls."<sup>85</sup> Mr. Ralph J. Cordiner of General Electric says substantially the same thing about radar.<sup>86</sup> Prof. Buckingham speaks of the "so-called hidden unemployment of downgrading"<sup>87</sup> and of the possible effects on industrial location.<sup>88</sup> The "upgrading" effect of automation is pointed out by other studies.<sup>89</sup> The "cost reduction" effect in the automobile industry is indicated by Mr. D. J. Davis of Ford Motor Co., who relates that the present mass-produced auto costing \$1,800 would cost approximately \$15,000 if handtools were still in use.<sup>90</sup>

### Employment Effects

Easily the most controverted issue involved in automation is that of the eventual employment (or unemployment) effects. Exhibits were furnished by the witnesses to prove that technological innovations had both increased and decreased employment, sometimes in the same industry! This testimony will be taken up presently.

<sup>85</sup>Hearings, p. 27.

<sup>86</sup>Ibid., p. 427.

<sup>87</sup>Ibid., p. 34.

<sup>88</sup>Ibid., p. 35.

<sup>89</sup>"Office Help—Electronic 'Brains' Banish Clerical Chores but not the Clerks," *Wall Street Journal*, March 28, 1956.

See also Harold Farlow Craig, "Administering Technological Change in a Large Insurance Office—A Case Study," *Industrial Relations Research Association*. Papers presented at Detroit Mich., Dec. 28-30, 1954, p. 129-38.

<sup>90</sup>Hearings, p. 55.

In the meantime, an attempt will be made to give an overall picture.

Perhaps the most objective approach to the subject of employment effects can be found in the four tables provided by Mr. Robert W. Burgess, Director, Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce.<sup>91</sup> They are too extensive to reproduce here. However, their nature can be indicated. The first table lists the major industry groups; the second covers durable-goods manufacturing; the third, non-durable goods manufacturing; and the fourth, transportation. In each table the industries are ranked, in descending order, according to the percent change in employment in the decade 1949-50. For our purpose it appears most useful to list once again the industries cited by Mr. Diebold<sup>92</sup> as either unlikely, or most likely, to be automated and to show the percent change in employment in each, as taken from the tables indicated.

From these tables, it is clear that employment in the industries cited shows absolutely no correlation with the de-

<sup>91</sup>Ibid., p. 91f.

<sup>92</sup>Cf. above and footnote 22.

TABLE 1.—PERCENT CHANGE IN EMPLOYMENT, 1940-50 FOR INDUSTRIES NOT LIKELY TO BE AUTOMATED.

Industries (or industry groups)	Percent change 1940-50
Agriculture	-18.0
Trade—wholesale	64.0
—retail	35.2
Services—Business and repair	58.4
—utilities and sanitary	41.4
—entertainment and recreation	32.1
Construction	65.8
Mining	1.7
Professional and related services	42.1

(Source: Adapted from tables, p. 91f., of the *Hearings*.)

TABLE 2.—PERCENT CHANGE IN EMPLOYMENT, 1940-50 FOR INDUSTRIES REGARDED AS MOST SUSCEPTIBLE TO AUTOMATION.

Industries (or industry groups)	Percent change 1940-50
Bakery products	13.0
Beverages	23.3
Confectionery	9.7
Rayon	**
Knit goods	-10.7
Paperboard containers	62.2
Printing	35.0
Chemicals	65.2
Petroleum refining	45.5
Glass products	36.8
Cement	60.1
Agricultural machinery	101.5
Miscellaneous machinery	77.0
Communication (Telecommunications)	75.0
Flour milling (Grain-mill products)	29.5
Transportation, total	34.5

\*\*No separate classification was provided for this item.

(Source: Adapted from material in Tables, pp. 91-92 of the *Hearings*.)

gree of automation accomplished. The employment pattern for the decade 1940-50 shows moderate to substantial increases in nearly all industry groups with decreases in only two groups, one (agriculture) in the non-automated classification, the other (knitting mills and miscellaneous textile mill products) in the automated class.

Testimony was adduced to show that employment had decreased in some areas and increased in others. Mr. W. P. Kennedy (Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen) showed clearly the unemployment effect of constructing new and modern "classification yards" on various railroads.<sup>45</sup> Mr. James B. Carey (International Union of Electrical Workers-CIO) showed employment declines in various branches of the electrical manufacturing in-

dustry.<sup>46</sup> On the other side, witnesses were able to point to increased employment in the telephone industry,<sup>47</sup> in the life insurance field,<sup>48</sup> in electronic machinery,<sup>49</sup> in auto production.<sup>50</sup>

Further testimony on this subject is set forth by Prof. Buckingham in his account of a recent Ph.D. dissertation by David G. Osborn at the University of Chicago. The thesis revealed that "in 12 cases of automation ranging from chocolate refining to railroad traffic control the reduction in employee requirements ranged from 13 to 92 percent with an average reduction in employment of 63.4 percent."<sup>51</sup> Beyond this, the dissertation shows several industries in which employment has increased slightly while output has increased considerably. In his discussion with Prof. Buckingham, Mr. John Diebold added some cautions regarding acceptance of the Osborn figures without further qualification. He pointed to the small size of the sample — 12 cases — and then stated that it "would be very bad to give the impression that this a general average expectation."<sup>52</sup>

Looking at the unemployment effect in yet another way, one sees that the volume of unemployment caused by automation will be slight when compared with the voluntary unemployment associated with job changeover, which is going on continuously in our economy. This is clear from two state-

<sup>45</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 225f and p. 238.

<sup>46</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 538.

<sup>47</sup>Testimony of Secretary of Labor Mitchell, p. 300.

<sup>48</sup>Testimony of Cleo Brunetti, Director, Engineering Research and Development, General Mills, Inc., p. 381.

<sup>49</sup>Testimony of Mr. J. D. Davis (Ford Motor Co.), p. 57.

<sup>50</sup>*Hearings*, p. 34.

<sup>51</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>43</sup>*Hearings*, p. 456f.



ments made by Mr. Marshall G. Munce (York Corp.):

One authoritative appraisal of the industries "ripe for automation" in the near future indicates that their employment accounts for only 8 percent of the total labor force. Furthermore, the same source estimates that not more than 50 percent of the persons not employed in those industries would be displaced over the next 20 years. This would suggest that the reallocation problem arising out of automation would involve about 2.5 million jobs over a 20-year period.<sup>81</sup>

The reference to job changeover follows:

Furthermore, the labor force is continually reallocating itself voluntarily to an extent not generally realized. In manufacturing, in typical prosperous years, the number of persons who voluntarily quit their jobs each month runs at over 2 percent of the labor force. In other words, over an entire year the total number of quits is equal to about one-quarter of the total number of jobs.<sup>82</sup>

This testimony is reinforced with a Table<sup>83</sup> from the U. S. Census Bureau, depicting job changes every month, in millions, among the various sectors of the economy.

### Recommendations of Witnesses

A large number of the witnesses made no specific recommendations of any kind. Some stated specifically that they saw no need for legislation on the subject.<sup>84</sup> Most of the positive recommendations revolved about the topic of assumption by industry, labor and government of specific responsibilities relating to automation.<sup>85</sup> Mr. Walter Reuther (UAW) recommended

government assistance to workers displaced by automation,<sup>86</sup> the assumption of responsibilities for these workers by employers themselves,<sup>87</sup> increases in the minimum wage laws,<sup>88</sup> a reduction in the workweek.<sup>89</sup>

The results of these hearings and ensuing studies should lead to positive recommendations from this subcommittee to the Congress. Such recommendations should cover the problems of displaced workers, industry migrations, stranded communities, small business and education requirements. Above all, such recommendations should promote national economic policies, designed to expand consumer-purchasing power with sufficient speed, so that we shall be able to buy and consume the vast flood of goods and services made available by automation. Such policy recommendations should be aimed at taking full advantage of the opportunities presented by rapid productivity increases—to improve federal, state, and local facilities in health, housing, education, natural resources and other fields of public activity.<sup>90</sup>

Mr. Carey appealed for improved educational and vocational training facilities<sup>91</sup> and proposed that the hearings "should be followed by a continuing study of the social and economic impact of automation, by the staff of the joint committee."<sup>92</sup> Mr. Marshall G. Munce (York Corp.) called for a re-examination of tax and patent policies in the light of changes brought about by automation.<sup>93</sup> Mr. John I. Snyder, Jr. (United States Industries, Inc.) made the following recommendations:

<sup>81</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 402.

<sup>82</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 402.

<sup>83</sup>*Hearings*, p. 409.

<sup>84</sup>Diebold, *ibid.*, p. 27 and Dr. Nourse, *ibid.*, p. 625.

<sup>85</sup>James B. Carey, *ibid.*, p. 232f.; William W. Barton, *ibid.*, p. 247f.; and Marshall G. Munce, *ibid.*, p. 405.

<sup>86</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 104.

<sup>87</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 105.

<sup>88</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 110.

<sup>89</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 110.

<sup>90</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 113f.

<sup>91</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 232.

<sup>92</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 234.

<sup>93</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 406 and p. 407.

Specifically, I would advocate that labor and industry join together in a National Labor-Management Council on Job Opportunities to deal with the problems of unemployment created as a result of automation.

The establishment of such a national council, with subsidiary regional and state divisions, would perform important and valuable functions.

1. It could follow automation's progress in the various parts of our nation—in entire industries, local areas and individual companies. Thus it could help pin-point developing localized cases of unemployment.

2. In such instances, the council would try to encourage industry to expand—through the creation of new products or new markets. It could also encourage new industries to move into these affected areas. Industrial expansion and the influx of new industry would lead to new job opportunities in the afflicted areas.

3. The council could make suggestions and could also establish procedures for retraining dislocated workers so that they can take over new jobs.

4. The council should work with federal and state agencies to accomplish the same ends.

In summary, the council—working at the national, regional, and state levels—would attempt to record automation's development and suggest solutions for any temporary dislocations that its progress may create. In its efforts and by the very nature of its cooperative sponsorship by labor and management, it would have the full help of both industry and labor, and also could have the aid and counsel of national and state governments.

Most important, the establishment of such a council would emphasize that management and labor alike view the advent of increased automation with approval, but that they are mindful nevertheless of its short-term limitations and believe that what a man who may be displaced by automation desires most is another job—and they are ready to help him in his laudable endeavor to find one.<sup>61</sup>

A good general summary of the effects of automation with an implied set of recommendations is furnished by Dr. Nourse in speaking of the indivisibility of technological progress.

Here I want to make three points: 1. That automation is only one inseparable part of the larger problem of technological progress; 2. that the application of our advancing technology to the ever better satisfaction of human wants goes forward through a continuous flow of money relations essentially like the "continuous process" of physical production in an automated factory; 3. that the economic problems posed by this technological advance can be solved only by a combination of competitive pressure, business statesmanship and constructive public policy.<sup>62</sup>

## Conclusion

The Subcommittee has performed a valuable service in calling together people most intimately associated with the latest developments in the field of automation, and in giving everyone a chance to enunciate his philosophy on this and other issues. This alone contains valuable educational features for our citizens at large and serves to bring all pertinent issues to the fore. If there are any significant viewpoints as yet undisclosed, the fault lies with those invited to testify before the Subcommittee. The result of the Hearings should be that of clearing the atmosphere and allowing those concerned with the progress of automation to return to their desks, drafting boards, computing machines, workshops and collective bargaining agreements to plot the next advances in the field, since automation is expected to make as much progress in the next five years as has already been made in the past decade.

<sup>61</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 566.

<sup>62</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 621.

# Verdict on MRA

## *A magic solution for all the world's ills*

EDWARD DUFF, S.J.

**W**HEN the 39th International Labor Conference convenes in Geneva June 6, a team of ebullient young men, aggressively cheerful and incorrigibly self-assured, can be counted on to descend from their mountain headquarters at Caux fifty miles up the bend of Lake Lemman to aid the delegates of eighty nations to solve the social problems besetting the world.<sup>1</sup>

Scheduled for discussion at this ILO Conference is the question of forced labor, a topic as intractable and as durable as that of disarmament.<sup>2</sup>

The young men from Caux can be counted on to have a confident answer

for the problem of forced labor, as for any other bothersome question on the agenda at the Palais des Nations, just as their now-greying predecessors had an answer for the international complications of the troubled year, 1939.<sup>3</sup> The answer is an "ideology" demanding allegiance to Absolute Honesty, Absolute Purity, Absolute Unselfishness and Absolute Love. For the exuberant young men are "life changers" of the Moral Rearmament Movement.

At the ILO Conference the Moral Rearmament team will address itself particularly to the Asian and African delegates, whom they will invite to Caux to be lavishly photographed amid

<sup>1</sup> The interest of Moral Rearmament in the ILO is not recent. Veterans of the organization recall the propaganda visit of MRA workers to the General Conference at Philadelphia in April, 1944, where they urged everyone to attend one of their musical dramas, displaying as a piece of persuasion a list of all the prominent people who would attend. One ILO veteran recounts with amusement the detailed review in the *New York Times* of the performance with an identical list of those present. The news item was corrected in the next day's edition of the paper with the announcement that the presentation would take place rather, "tomorrow evening."

<sup>2</sup> The complexity of the task of the current ILO Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labor may be judged from the cooperation

received by its predecessor. Documentation charging the Soviet Union with holding as many as 20 million of its own nationals in forced labor camps was "returned unexamined" by that country's representative to the UN. Cf. *Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labor*, International Labor Office, Geneva, 1953, p. 79. The progress realized in the field of disarmament since the impasse acknowledged on May 28, 1948 in the Second Report of the U N Atomic Energy Commission has led so astute an observer as Raymond Aron to remark: "The pursuit of an international convention on the limitation of arms is an innocent distraction for polytechnicians or unemployed lawyers." *Le Figaro*, Nov. 4, 1954, p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> The answer was "Guns or Guidance."

the scarcely economically backward area of the mountain-top resort above Montreux.<sup>4</sup> It is even possible that the beaming presence of the founder and inspirer of the unique answer to the world's woes<sup>5</sup> may, despite his 78 years and feeble heart, again grace the visitors' gallery at the Conference; he may ungrudgingly accept a private, if publicized, testimonial dinner-reception in his honor where the near-great will be allowed to realize that the really great seek and treasure the privilege of his friendship, which is signaled by the chummy habit of calling him "Frank."

All efforts will be thought worthwhile if in a moment of East-West tension (since the arrival of the Soviets two years ago the ILO Conferences have experienced little else) some happy delegate will from the rostrum invoke the remedy of Moral Rearmament as the answer to the problem.<sup>6</sup>

Is this unconscionable arrogance or simpleminded enthusiasm, this claim to have the single answer to all the complicated problems of the day? At any rate, the claim is not new.

Following the Munich crisis Moral Rearmament was presented as the only

answer to war;<sup>7</sup> with the Sino-Japanese war already raging, it was seen as the only plan for the solution of difficulties between the two countries;<sup>8</sup> after the outbreak of the war, according to MRA literature, it so assured industrial peace at the Lockheed aircraft plant that there "was not a single strike or slow-down;"<sup>9</sup> it reduced loss of output due to absenteeism by eighty per cent in a sample Canadian coal mine and in another increased output by 300 tons a day;<sup>10</sup> by way of proving that the same elixir worked across the Atlantic, it triggered an all-time record for coal production during Britain's post-war drive for economic recovery.<sup>11</sup>

### Universal Formula

Questions big and small apparently yield to its universal power. It is presented as the concrete solution to the tangled racial problem in South Africa,<sup>12</sup> the feud between Pakistani and Hindus,<sup>13</sup> the task of rebuilding the economic order in Japan.<sup>14</sup> It is offered as the means by which the "statesmen of the free world [can] recapture the initiative in Asia."<sup>15</sup> It is, in short,

tees of the employers group on the ground (supported by their voting record) that they were merely additional government representatives. In counseling brotherly love Mr. Lim was seemingly unaware of the conflict between Absolute Love and Absolute Honesty.

<sup>7</sup> Allan W. Eister, *Drawing-Room Conversation: A Sociological Account of the Oxford Group Movement* (Duke University Press, Durham, 1950), p. 198. The book is based on a doctoral thesis and contains a complete survey of all literature on the movement.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>9</sup> Howard, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 42-47.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 104.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 90.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 94.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 92.

<sup>4</sup> MRA headquarters at Caux includes three former hotels: the Palace (a modest structure with a facade of 250 meters), the Grand and the Maria.

<sup>5</sup> Judging from the title of one of his books, *The World Rebuilt* (Blanford Press, London, 1951), MRA's chief publicist, Peter Howard, would appear to believe that the answer has been pretty generally applied. A recent presentation of MRA claims is *Report on Moral Rearmament*, edited by R. C. Mowat (Blanford, London, 1955).

<sup>6</sup> As when on June 22, 1954, Mr. Rosseller T. Lim, government delegate from the Philippines, suggested the MRA answer as the solution to an issue touching the fundamental tri-partite nature of the ILO. The employers of the free world had challenged the credentials of the "employers" from seven communist countries and were endeavoring to exclude them from commit-



"democracy's answer" to the communist threat.<sup>16</sup>

Do such claims seem excessive? So eminent an authority as Dr. John R. Steelman was quoted in the House of Representatives as having endorsed Moral Rearmament as "the most effective single force for industrial conciliation in this country."<sup>17</sup> The venerable lay leader of West Coast Catholicism, Joseph Scott, is photographed declaring: "The only adequate answer to the hate in the world today is Frank Buchman's philosophy of Moral Rearmament."<sup>18</sup> Military leaders among East European exiles, including General Bor-Komorowski, signed a common appeal to the people beyond the Iron Curtain expressing their "absolute conviction that the ideology of Moral Rearmament is the sole solution for the present world crisis" and an apt means of "provoking the political, economic and social changes whose necessity most people of good will concede to be necessary."<sup>19</sup> An unidentified Military Government official declared: "Moral Rearmament has done more to win the German people to democracy in these weeks than we have done in three years."<sup>20</sup> "More important than the atom bomb" was the estimate of the

Hon. F. W. Doidge, Minister of External Affairs of New Zealand.<sup>21</sup>

It is not surprising, therefore, that Secretary of Air Harold Talbot, before he became involved in more pressing and personally embarrassing problems, authorized a tab for \$135,000 for government transport of the 192 person cast of "The Vanishing Island" to carry the MRA message of Absolute Honesty through Africa and Asia.<sup>22</sup> Or that Dr. Oskar Leimgruber, sometime chancellor of the Swiss Confederation, could warn the churches that they can less and less afford to pass up a collaboration with MRA whose spiritual strength is increasing more and more.<sup>23</sup> Dr. Leimgruber made a missionary tour to the United States last year on behalf of MRA, visiting members of the American hierarchy. It is not reported how impressed the prelates were by his exhortation to get on the bandwagon before it is too late.

What in essence is this movement called Moral Rearmament, what are its mechanisms, its methodology and motivation?

Of few movements can it be said with such justice and force that they are the extension of a single personality as in the case of Moral Rearmament and its founder, Frank Buchman. His is scarcely the personality and the career

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 139.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 203. The quote is from a speech of the Hon. Pierce H. Preston, D., Ga., reporting for the Committee (J. Donald O'Toole, D., N. Y., Daniel J. Flood, D., Pa., George A. Dondero, R., Mich., and Earl Wilson, R., Ind.) who traveled by military plane at public expense to attend MRA's World Assembly at Caux on June 4, 1949.

<sup>18</sup>*New World News*, Spring, 1955, p. 16.

<sup>19</sup>*Le Monde*, October 5, 1951. In private conversations Gen. Bor, as well as his co-signatories (the Czech, Gen. Prchala, the Yugoslav, Gen. Alabanda and the Pole, Gen. Rudnicki), gives the impression of favoring more direct means of destroying the Iron Curtain.

<sup>20</sup>Howard, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 213.

<sup>22</sup>*Time*, July 18, 1955. The Gilbert and Sullivan style musical drama picturing the Western inhabitants of the "I Love Me" island as selfish buffoons was calculated to please Asians. The *Morning Star* of Colombo, Ceylon, however, wrote: "This sort of thing may flatter us Easterners but it does not do any good and what use is MRA if even one of its shows should make half the world feel it is superior to the other half?" NC Press Service (Domestic), Sept. 5, 1955, p. 6.

<sup>23</sup>*Neue Zürcher Nachrichten*, April 15, 1955, p. 4.

calculated to impress the sophisticated European or Oriental intellectual who finds something fresh and appealing in MRA while scoffing at the moralizing manner of the American "bourgeoisie," eternally symbolized by George Babbitt.<sup>24</sup> The Buchman background is unabashedly bourgeois.

Born June 4, 1878, of parents described as "simple, religious people, typically 'Pennsylvania Dutch,'" he graduated from Allentown High School and Muhlenberg College, passed on to the Lutheran theological seminary in Mt. Airy, Philadelphia. Disagreement with the Board of Trustees of his parish and of its settlement house led to his resignation and a trip to England where he attended Keswick, the celebrated evangelical center. Listening to a Pentecostal woman preacher, he had an intense spiritual experience which he described as "a vibrant feeling up and down the spine as if a strong current of life had been poured into me. . . . I had undergone a change and could become the instrument to lead others to this change."<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup>A 1936 description reported Buchman to be "short, stoutish, and benevolent-looking, with a smile on his thin but firm lips and with a pair of extremely bright, keen eyes that were always watching something from behind gold-rimmed spectacles. The only thing he did not suggest was religion. He might have been a bank manager or a successful American impresario." Cited in Eister, p. 109. Buchman's public relations man, Peter Howard, observes that he would not only have been a good politician but "a successful business man, advertiser or strategist in any field demanding attention to detail and the handling of people." *Ibid.*, p. 33. The writer had the amusing experience once of hearing an European confere damn with faint praise Americans as exuberant, naive, moralizing, pretentious, lacking a sense of privacy, given to self advertising and then hearing MRA (which would seem to manifest all the irritating features of "American character") praised.

<sup>25</sup>Cited in Eister, p. 126.

YMCA work at Pennsylvania State College became the field of his "life changing" work, to be followed by two tours of the Far East as an evangelist before an appointment as an extension lecturer at Hartford Theological Seminary, a training center for missionaries. Again the persistence of his evangelical efforts occasioned strong complaints as well as evoking intense personal allegiances. Like his early patron, the late Dr. John R. Mott, Frank Buchman has always been successful in interesting wealthy individuals in the importance of the religious work he directs.<sup>26</sup> Assured by the response of several students he had encountered at Oxford in 1921 and confident of the support of influential friends, Buchman decided to begin a career as an independent evangelist. It is characteristic that he set out for Washington where the World Disarmament Conference was meeting. Remaking the world by changing "key" people was from the beginning a central feature of his evangelistic strategy as it had been at Penn State when he cultivated the captain of the football team in order to enhance the prestige of religion.<sup>27</sup> To be present when important events are taking place — League of Nations Assemblies, the conventions of Democratic and Republican Parties, the founding of the United Nations, Big Four Meetings — is a preoccupation of the movement.

<sup>26</sup>A biographer estimated that up to 1934 Dr. John R. Mott had personally raised \$300 million for his various religious activities. Suzanne de Deitrich, *Cinquante ans d'histoire* (Editions du Semeur, Paris, 1948), p. 44. Dr. Mott was still interested in the Ecumenical Movement at the time of his death this year.

<sup>27</sup>"Leaders changed, a nation's thinking changed, a world at peace with itself," is Dr. Buchman's prescription for a proper strategy of evangelism. *Remaking the World*, Heinemann, London, 1941, p. 17.

Important events were taking place on American campuses in the Twenties. Through the Student Christian Movement, a new interest in religion was manifesting itself at the Ivy League shrines of Princeton, Yale, Harvard, Williams, Smith, Vassar, Bryn Mawr.<sup>28</sup> Dr. Henry P. Van Deusen, President of Union Theological Seminary, testifies to the influence of Frank Buchman in such supposedly unpromising quarters: "Of the fifty ablest younger ministers on the Atlantic seaboard today, somewhere near half were directed into their vocation through his influence at that time."<sup>29</sup> Dr. Van Deusen came under that influence as did the Reverend Dr. Samuel M. Shoemaker, rector of the fashionable Calvary Church in New York City, whose parish house became headquarters for "A First Century of Christian Fellowship," as the group around Buchman called themselves.<sup>30</sup>

Teams of eager young men, predecessors of those who would descend from Caux, were trained and dispatched. A visit to South Africa in 1928 by English students preaching personal change as the answer to race tensions and cultural conflicts occasioned the use for the first time of the name "the Oxford Group," a title the

university later found objectionable. "The Rising Tide" was the movement's own estimate of its meaning and future in the early Thirties, as its teams brought it to Scandinavia, Australia and selected (and select) American communities, publishing a *Life*-style magazine recounting its triumphs which, it announced, was appearing simultaneously in ten countries in nine languages with an initial print order of one million copies.<sup>31</sup> It was the high tide of the movement in the United States, climaxed by a meeting at Constitution Hall in Washington on June 4, 1939, where publicly-read messages from President Roosevelt and many other public figures agreed on the importance of the moral factor in human living.

"Moral Rearmament" — the term was first employed by Buchman in a speech in London in May, 1938 — had, it might be thought, problems larger than those of individuals to face. It was not enough that Dr. Shoemaker, judging that the movement was becoming an independent sect, asked MRA to vacate the parish house of his Episcopal church, but war had broken out and there was defense production to be maintained by exhortations in factories and by dramatic presentations in factories.<sup>32</sup> After the war there was industrial unrest to be quelled, communism to be combatted and, more currently, all of Asia and Africa to be maintained free of undisclosed dangers which are generically described as "materialism."

<sup>31</sup>Only one issue ever appeared.

<sup>32</sup>Neither the British nor the American governments could be persuaded (or pressured?) into granting exemption from military service to MRA teams on the grounds that they were contributing to essential industrial morale of factories.

<sup>28</sup>The experience of this group particularly was studied by Walter Houston Clark in his Harvard doctoral thesis, subsequently published as *The Oxford Group: Its History and Significance*, Bookman Associates, New York, 1951. It was a generation earlier and on less fashionable campuses that the Student Missionary Volunteers came into being, choosing as their goal "The conversion of the world in this generation."

<sup>29</sup>Frank Buchman was barred from the Princeton campus by President Hibben who believed interest in personal faults smacked of prurience.

<sup>30</sup>Dr. Shoemaker's social orientation makes him the favorite religious counselor of Ben Moreel of Jones & Laughlin.

This sizable chore is in the hands of an estimated 1,500 full-time followers of Buchmanism (since Moral Rearmament is not an organization there are no "members," it is insisted) who give their lives freely to promote its ideology; believing that "where God guides, God provides," it is not rare for them (so one is told) to board an airplane on an MRA mission with a one-way ticket but without even a nickel for the subway fare in the city of their destination.<sup>33</sup> They are promoting, they insist, not a religion but an "ideology." An ideology, according to MRA literature, is composed of three elements: a philosophy, a passion and a plan. Like so much in MRA literature the phrase has the mind-numbing and annoying indefiniteness of a slogan.<sup>34</sup>

As a philosophy Moral Rearmament is certainly opaque to rational analysis. "Look after the practice and the theory will look after itself," was one of Frank Buchman's early dicta. The premises of the "philosophy" are simple enough:

<sup>33</sup>*L'Actualité Religieuse dans le Monde*, October 1, 1953, p. 18, which is also the source for the number of 1,500 full-time MRA workers. Peter Howard speaks merely of a "force of full trained personnel" as being "in the hundreds." *Op. cit.*, p. 132. MRA personnel seems seldom dependent on the subway for transportation. Indeed their mode of living and their confidence that "God is a million" occasioned the cynical lyric:

"There was a young man from Peoria,  
Whose sinning grew gorier and gorier.

By confession and prayer  
And some savoir-faire

He now lives at the Waldorf-Astoria."

<sup>34</sup>Others: "Man's Plan is ARM, God's Plan is MRA"; "MRA = Make Religion Adventurous"; "MRA = My Reformation Absolute"; "P-R-A-Y = Powerful Radiograms Always Yours." In the speech launching Moral Rearmament Frank Buchman declared: "Suppose everybody cared enough, everybody shared enough, wouldn't everybody have enough?" (Howard, p. 216)—an opinion which ridicules the need of increasing productivity if the growing population of the world is to have enough to eat.

Spiritually "changed" individuals (especially influential ones) will automatically constitute an economically just and politically free world. Individuals are to be changed by self-surrender to the ever-available guidance of the Holy Spirit and through the therapy administered by the "soul surgeons" of the movement.<sup>35</sup>

The "passion" of the MRA ideology is the eagerness for fellowship and the obligation of participating in the work of "changing" other lives which it inculcates. From his days at the Hartford Theological Seminary, which he criticized freely for its lack of evangelical fervor, Buchman has always insisted that apostolic activity is a test of religious conviction and its absence a sign of spiritual sloth, in fact a sin.<sup>36</sup> The emphasis explains the persistence of the teams of Caux. It also explains, in part, the success of Alcoholics Anonymous. For it should not be forgotten that it was from a member of the Oxford Group that Bill Wilson heard the words of hope that night when his life seemed irretrievably ruined; it is not unlikely, therefore, that the idea of Twelfth Step work, unsparing assistance to other alcoholics, was inspired by the Oxford Group methodology.

<sup>35</sup>Buchman explains that "the Holy Spirit is the most intelligent source of information in the world today. He has the answer to every problem. Everywhere men will let Him, He is teaching them how to live." Eister, p. 42.

<sup>36</sup>The reason: every individual is responsible not merely for his personal conduct but for the state of the world. A manual of the movement set down the apostolic imperative thus: "A professed Christian who is not busy to some extent in the work of witness-bearing to individuals can be no true follower of Christ." Cited in Eister, p. 13. But that was in 1932. As MRA addressed itself more and more to Asians and Africans in the post-war years, the idiom of a pallid humanism was substituted for that of Christian revivalism in its literature.



## Origins

The "plan" of MRA, its technique of "life-changing," is an adaptation of the methods of personal evangelism inaugurated by a Scot, Henry Drummond, and developed by American religious leaders such as Dwight L. Moody, Henry B. Wright and John R. Mott. The individual is invited to identify all that is unsatisfactory in society as well as everything inadequate, insecure and unhappy in his own life with personal sin, with his own personally sinful state. Guided always by the counsel that "lure is more effective than logic," the soul-surgeon will avoid all arguments in his efforts to persuade the individual to acknowledge his sin. Confronting the moral ideal of the four Absolutes, the sinner is urged to make a personal decision of self-surrender to God by which his sin is exorcised. Restitution when indicated and "sharing" in public testimony of former moral failures by way of destroying pride and encouraging others are commonly expected.

Such "changed" individuals, whose lives are now controlled by the inspirations of the Holy Spirit, will be incapable of the self-interest which is at the root of contemporary economic disorders and political rivalries. The class warfare which is the basis of Marxism and the pride and selfishness accounting for East-West tensions will yield, so it is asserted, to the ideology of Moral Rearmament. That the program — a composite of German pietism, Protestant evangelism and American collegiate spiritual techniques — has inspired a salutary religious self-examination and a personal dedication to a higher moral ideal in a considerable number of people

is not here contested. MRA enthusiasts are almost inevitably the sort of individuals for whom, in the words of William James, "religion exists not as a dull habit but as an acute fever." What is being scrutinized here is Moral Rearmament's claim to possess the answers for social ills and political problems.

It will be evident in advance that an "ideology" such as MRA will have no interest in systems of social ethics, since it advocates "the dictatorship of the living Spirit of God," as the source of moral appraisals. Mechanisms of economic life, cultural studies of racial conflicts, institutions of juridical change are deemed largely irrelevant and futile as means of establishing justice in society. "What you want are God-guided personalities which make God-guided nationalities to make a new world," Frank Buchman announced. "All other ideas of economic adjustment are too small really to touch the center of the evil." And guidance is available to everyone for the asking, something Buchman finds "as normal an experience as eating or sleeping." The question of righting the world, then, is a simple one of accepting the inspirations of the Holy Spirit, interpreted in the light of four moral Absolutes, for "guidance is meant to be obeyed, not to be proved."<sup>37</sup>

But, despite the assurance of its advocates, and the winsome faith in God of its ideology, many problems present themselves. There is, first of all, the indefiniteness of meaning of the four moral Absolutes. Absolute Honesty is

<sup>37</sup>How superfluous systems of rational analysis are may be seen in Buchman's assurance offered during a radio broadcast to the world: "Just as television is that space-conquering vision on the material plane, so guidance is the far-seeing perception on the spiritual. It is limited only by our capacity for disciplined obedience." (Howard, p. 131)

generally concerned with the handling of the property of others but other times it seems to refer to attitudes and action of candor.<sup>39</sup> Absolute Purity in earlier MRA literature covered the category of sex (sometimes in a Jansenistic fashion), not excluding the question of "bad thoughts;" its absoluteness is not intruded with any embarrassment on Moslems visiting Caux who have preference for polygamy. Absolute unselfishness is undoubtedly an admirable personal moral trait, but is a labor leader expected to practice it in collective bargaining negotiations at the expense of the just claims of his union?

There is the future problem of the interpretation of the guidance that "comes to one" during the Quiet Times the ideology inculcates, the danger that absurd and even perilous notions of self-suggestion (or even arising from a badly digested meal) will be ascribed to the Holy Spirit. The assurance of assistance from a soul surgeon in the interpretation ("checking") of guidance scarcely allays concern; indeed, it raises the more disquieting possibility of a moral tyranny exercised over the conscience of another in the interests of a vague "ideology."<sup>40</sup>

MRA's sentimental emphasis on individual experience as the test of religious

truth, the implicit pharisaism of its insistent moralism, its dislike for dogma as futile and controversial, and really superfluous, probably explain the large turn-over among its followers and the movement's tendency to transfer its sphere of activity to another quarter of the globe with good regularity.



More serious is the political primitiveness of the viewpoints advanced by Moral Rearmament and its unabashed advocacy of the "status quo" on all questions of social and economic policy.<sup>40</sup> A garnishing of fellowship among "key people," attentive to daily divine radiograms, seems the only requisite needed to establish social justice and political equilibrium. Dr. Buchman may sincerely believe that

The God-controlled nation will have at her command armies of life-changers. Her national defense will be the respect and gratitude of all her neighbors. Such a

man who was eager to explain to American priests how MRA had broken the hold of communism on the labor force in his father's factory and had wrought a tremendous spiritual change in his personal living. Intrigued by the workings of guidance, I inquired what this French Catholic would do if, during his daily Quiet Time, he felt "guided" to confide to his wife instances of his extra-marital misconduct. "Why, I should tell her," he answered. "But surely not on the first occasion of receiving the guidance," Mr. Roots cautioned. "Supposing the guidance was persistent and identical?" I insisted. "Then I must tell her," was the reply. "Well, no, you would talk it over with me, I hope," Mr. Roots interposed. What warrant an Episcopalian, however pious, has to provide moral direction for a Catholic is not clear.

<sup>40</sup>Reinhold Niebuhr sees in the morality of Moral Rearmament "a religious expression of decadent individualism. Far from offering us a way out of our difficulties, it adds to the general confusion. This is not the gospel's message of judgment and hope to

<sup>39</sup>In this connection, the similarity of prose style in the writings of Peter Howard, MRA's chief publicist, and in that found in testimonials and invitations addressed to Dr. Buchman by figures prominent in public life is disquieting. "Absolute Pressure" was the description of MRA methodology offered by the late Archbishop of York, Cyril Foster Garbett, when the Church Assembly of Church of England in February, 1955, voted acceptance of a report on the movement prepared by its Social and Industrial Council.

<sup>40</sup>The writer was present when John M. Roots, Jr., a veteran of the movement, introduced a young French Catholic noble-

nation will demonstrate that spiritual power is the greatest force in the world.<sup>41</sup>

Possibly, the neutralists of the Far East who saw the MRA musical drama, "The Vanishing Island," with communist and plutocratic capitalist both surrendering to the slogans of fraternity, believe it. But the problem is no more simple than it was in the days when Dr. Buchman had hopes of "changing" Hitler and the top Nazi leadership and thus, automatically, solve the problems of the post-Versailles Europe.<sup>42</sup>

### Spurned by Labor

It is impressive to read that Dr. Heinrich Kost, Managing Director of the Rein-Preussen Company and Chairman of the Coal Board, was so "changed" that, when he was visited by two former communists who had visited Caux, all labor grievances which had been outstanding for several years were settled within half an hour.<sup>43</sup> Organized labor is not impressed by accounts of such supposed triumphs. Indeed the Executive Board of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, meeting at Stockholm in July, 1953, condemned Moral Rearmament for anti-trade union activities which, it asserted,

the world. It is bourgeois optimism, individualism and materialism expressing itself in the guise of religion. No wonder the rather jittery plutocrats of our day open their spacious summer homes to its message." *Christianity and Power Politics*, Scribners, New York, 1940, p. 165.

<sup>41</sup>Eister, p. 195.

<sup>42</sup>"Hitler or any facist leader controlled by God could cure all the ills of the world," declared Buchman in an interview. *New York World Telegram*, August 26, 1936.

<sup>43</sup>Howard, p. 59. Labor officials likewise dismiss the claim that in twenty minutes a MRA team succeeded in settling a prospective strike between Eastern and National Airlines and their pilots in 1953; the pilots' association is a company union, it is explained.

went so far as efforts to form "yellow" unions.<sup>44</sup>

The report on MRA which was discussed by the ICFTU had been prepared at the request of Sibnath Banerjee, an Indian trade-union official. It reviewed the history and literature of MRA, mocked its "fabricated successes" in the industrial relations field and listed the views of members of the Executive Board and the experience of their national unions with Moral Rearmament.

Thus Walter Reuther pointed out that a resolution opposing MRA was not put to a formal vote at the 1951 CIO convention only for fear that such action might be misinterpreted as an expression of anti-religious feeling. Canadian workers, according to Donald MacDonald of the Canadian Congress of Labour, "regarded MRA with suspicion, distrust and even open hostility." Swedish workers were reported to have been strongly pressured by their employers to join MRA. The Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund indicated its belief that "the methods employed by MRA are calculated to weaken the trade union movement," adding a complaint that the advocates of Absolute Honesty had deceived trade unionists by giving false information in their invitations. Giulio Pastore of Italy's CISL noted that many employers are inclined to deliver fine speeches about social progress at Caux which they promptly forget when they return home. The late Arthur Deakin of England's TUC expressed with some vehemence his resentment of MRA interference in trade union affairs and its exploitation of personal statements of labor officials "for propaganda purposes as being the views of whole groups of

<sup>44</sup>Circular No. 19 (1953), dated Sept. 9, 1953.

workers." "We are completely and unalterably opposed to any interference by these people in our industrial organization," he concluded.

Such is the verdict of the instrument of organized labor, formed to protect free workers against communist control. Officers of the ICFTU are not over-cautious in voicing their conviction that MRA, consciously or unwittingly, is an agency of hypocritical reactionary interests, intent on keeping labor tractable and colonial peoples docile.

Moral Rearmament's pretensions of solving the knotty problems of economic disequilibrium and international political rivalries by a simple change of human hearts recalls the claims of the Social Gospel Movement in the United States a generation ago. An expression of that sanguine outlook (and evidence of its widespread appeal) was the novel, *In His Steps*, written by an active minister of the gospel, the Reverend Charles Sheldon, to be read from the pulpit. According to the story given in the novel, each member of a fictional congregation pledges himself to consider before every action "What would Jesus do?" and to act accordingly. The resolve results in a total transformation of the community. Appearing first in 1898, *In His Steps* was translated into 21 languages and by 1933 had sold 23 million copies, making it (so it is claimed) the world's all-time "best seller" — after, of course, the Bible.

The exponents of the Social Gospel Movement were convinced that God has a plan — in their idiom, "the Kingdom of God" — a social order directly inspired by the gospels and heralded in Christ's teaching.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>46</sup>Thus Shailer Mathews of the University of

"God has a nation-wide program that provides inspiration and liberty for all and anticipates all political programs," declared Frank Buchman in the speech inaugurating MRA.<sup>47</sup> This instrumental conception of religion, this abashed advocacy of the Holy Spirit as the agent of economic security and the shield against political disturbances is a perversion of values noted by T. S. Eliot:<sup>48</sup>

The last temptation is the greatest treason

To do the right deed for the wrong reason.

In an address to Harvard's Divinity School in 1909 on "The Religion of the Future," President Charles W. Eliot (a Unitarian) prophesied that it would be the needs of the here and now—public baths, playgrounds, wider and cleaner streets and more sanitary housing—which would concern spiritually-minded men. MRA seems determined to verify that prediction and apply it to even larger issues: industrial unrest, the communist menace, the turbulence of former colonial peoples.

Since SOCIAL ORDER is not a theological review, this is not the place to trace the antecedents of Moral Rearmament in the history of religious thought. Enough to indicate that the appeal to emotional experience as the basis of faith, stemming from Schleiermacher, led to attempts to find the essential "meaning" of Christianity — as distinguished from unessential "accre-

Chicago: "By the Kingdom of God Jesus meant an ideal (though progressively approximated) social order in which the relations of men to God is that of sons and, therefore to each other that of brothers." *The Social Teaching of Jesus*, Macmillan, New York, 1922, p. 54.

<sup>48</sup>Howard, p. 216.

<sup>47</sup>Cf. also his *The Idea of a Christian Society*, Harcourt, Brace, New York, 1940, p. 59 and the note on p. 85.



tions" — in its social utility. The result was an ethical theism as in Ritschl, content with the self-evident values for significant living offered by the person and teachings of Christ or a sociologism as in Troeltsch, justifying Christianity by its relation to community needs.

In the United States Walter Rauschenbusch is a convenient symbol of this school and the title of his best-known book, *Christianizing the Social Order*, is indicative of the utilitarian concept of religion as a program of social amelioration. It is a constant temptation of generous-minded (and also puritanical) people. "We believe in the Kingdom of Heaven. We are conspirators for its establishment. That is why we are." Such was the declaration of the sermon opening the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work in Stockholm on August 19, 1920.<sup>48</sup> The Conference proposed to cure all the world's ills; it was invited to frame a Christian Program to match the Socialist Program.<sup>49</sup> Today Moral Rearmament presents itself as the only "ideology" capable of competing with communism.

Such a religious outlook deems creeds testimonials rather than tests. "Dogma divides, action unites" was a slogan of the Life and Work Movement, a fancy which MRA renews. For faith, in the evangelical meaning of the word, is a spiritual attitude, a religious experience; the same "faith" can express itself in

the varying "beliefs" of varying individuals. In the MRA view of things, diversity of ecclesiastical allegiances among its participants is unimportant for the process of "life changing" which is the unique and adequate answer to all social ills.

This is, of course, errant individualism in the spiritual sphere. And it is not surprising that it results in the most retrograde social views, thus verifying Dicey's thesis of the affinity of the Evangelical tradition and Benthamite utilitarianism, the philosophy of economic liberalism which dominated the 1800's.<sup>50</sup>

### "Not Religion"

The suggestion that Moral Rearmament is a religion is one that Dr. Buchman and his friends sedulously and energetically deny. MRA, they insist, is an "ideology" which imparts "a quality of life," heightening the spiritual awareness of the devotees of any church or mosque or temple. Every effort is made to manifest extreme deference toward the traditions of each religious group participating; indeed, the claim is earnestly repeated that Moral Rearmament

<sup>48</sup>G.K.A. (ed.), *The Stockholm Conference of 1925*, Humphrey Milford, London, 1926, p. 38. Following the opening service, the delegates were received at the palace by the King of Sweden who told them that the aim of the Conference was no less important than that of the Council of Nicea. *Ibid.*, p. 18. The aim of the Council of Nicea had been to define the nature (and thus the function) of Christ and, in consequence, the essential content of the Christian religion.

<sup>49</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 65.

<sup>50</sup>"The appeal of the Evangelicals to personal religion corresponds with the appeal of the Benthamite Liberals to individual energy. Indifference to the authority of the Church is the counterpart of indifference to the authoritative teaching or guidance of the State or of society. . . . The theology which insisted on personal responsibility and treated each man as himself bound to work out his own salvation had an obvious affinity with the political philosophy which regards man almost exclusively as separate individuals and made it the aim of law to secure for every person to work out his own happiness." Quoted by James H. Nichols, *Democracy and the Churches* (Westminster Press, Philadelphia, 1951, p. 73). The elephant dancing among the mice, in Dickens' example, was undoubtedly "working out his own happiness"—to the acute unhappiness of the mice.

will make its followers better Catholics, better Presbyterians, better Baptists, better (presumably) Moslems, Buddhists or Animists.<sup>51</sup>

Some Catholics, intent on achieving the collaboration for temporal goals of all those whom the Holy Father has termed "men of good will," have seen in Moral Rearmament a more dynamic form of the National Council of Christians and Jews (or, better, perhaps, World Brotherhood), an association of religious-minded people bringing the inspiration and motivation of their different beliefs to a common study and attack of social injustice.<sup>52</sup> More than any other personality in Catholic life in modern times Cardinal Hinsley, founder of the *Sword of the Spirit*, labored to enlist members of different faiths in a cooperative effort for the rebuilding of the Temporal City. But Cardinal Hinsley explicitly told his diocesans of Westminster in February, 1938, that they must not "take any active part in it" (i.e., the Oxford Group) on the ground that it is identifiably a non-Catholic sect.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>51</sup>Billy Graham is more modest, endeavoring to make his listeners merely better Christians; like Dr. Buchman, he is extremely respectful of all Christian creeds and directs his converts to the pastors of their preference—to Catholic curés, presumably, during his preaching in Paris.

<sup>52</sup>Robert Schuman seems to regard MRA as a program of Group Dynamics, judging from the foreword which he contributed to the French edition of Dr. Buchman's speeches: "The acquisition of wisdom about men and their affairs by bringing people together in public assemblies and personal encounters—that is the means employed." Quoted by Howard, p. 159.

<sup>53</sup>The Cardinal's evaluation had been preceded by that of one of Anglicanism's best theologians, the Rt. Rev. H. H. Henson: "Groupism is a complete religious system, that is, it provides for all the needs of its members." The Bishop of Durham concluded: "I find myself driven to the conclusion that Dr. Buchman's movement is dangerously unsound." Eister, pp. 99, 44.

The Cardinal's judgment<sup>54</sup> agreed with that of Michael J. Brown (later Bishop of Galway). The Irish moralist was more severe: he condemned attendance at an Oxford Group meeting by any Catholic, even as simple on-looker moved merely by curiosity or sympathy.<sup>55</sup> The hierarchy of England and Wales repeated the warning of Cardinal Hinsley in 1946. Cardinal Frings of Cologne used the occasion of a sermon in his cathedral in 1950 to reject the claims of MRA. In June, 1952, Cardinal Schuster of Milan characterized MRA as "subjective pietism of an authentically Protestant stamp." The Belgian hierarchy spoke out against the movement two months later forbidding the participation of the faithful under its jurisdiction. The reasons for the opposition of the Belgian bishops was explained in an objective and sympathetic study of the movement by the Most Rev. Leon-Joseph Suenens, after a personal stay at Caux. Cardinal Van Roey contributed the preface to the book of his Auxiliary, a book which concluded that Moral Rearmament is, despite all its protestations, quite simply a religion.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>54</sup>Four years earlier Bishop Ruch of Strassburg had identified the Oxford Group (as MRA was then known) as being "non-Catholic in origin, character and tendency. A Catholic must not associate himself with the movement." *L'Actualité Religieuse*, op. cit., p. 20.

<sup>55</sup>*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, December, 1936, pp. 635-643.

<sup>56</sup>*Que faut-il penser du Réarmement moral?* (Les éditions Universitaires, Paris and Brussels, 1953), translated as *The Right View of Moral Rearmament* (Newman Bookshop, Westminster, Md., 1954; Burns, Oates, London, 1954). Bishop Suenens' conclusions, after a theological examination, agree with the assessment of the sociologist, Walter Houston Clark, who saw in the movement "a flowering of the great Protestant tradition with its emphasis on the individual and its willingness to let the individual speak out of his own

Such a verdict disturbed Catholics active in or friendly towards Moral Rearmament. Impressed by the spiritual vitality they discerned in the movement, the spirit of recollection they found at Caux, the sense of dedication and, above all, apostolate they observed among Dr. Buchman's followers, these Catholics hope for a stronger Catholic representation in MRA. A precious instrument for the moral reformation of the world is available, they feel, one which the Church is neglecting to its manifest loss. Partisans of a *politique de présence*, they fear that Catholicism will appear a bigoted, provincial creed if it refuses to participate in a movement whose goals are manifestly praiseworthy and whose successes seemed striking. They were encouraged by the May, 1948, declaration of the French hierarchy which, despite its stringent restrictions on Catholic participation, had contained no condemnation of the movement.<sup>87</sup> They could point to the Catholic chapel at Caux where daily Mass is offered with the authorization of the local bishop, a permission they early took to be an endorsement.<sup>88</sup>

authority and on his own authority to follow or not to follow the prophet who is thought to speak for God." *Op. cit.*, p. 225.

<sup>87</sup>In *L'Actualité Religieuse*, loc. cit. Only members of the laity well-instructed in their faith and following the advice of a competent priest may attend MRA meetings; priests and religious only after having received permission of their Bishops or superiors; they must make it clear, moreover, that their presence does not indicate an approbation of the movement by the hierarchy.

<sup>88</sup>Since the bishop of Fribourg, Lausanne and Geneva (a tri-city see) is commonly invoked as favoring MRA, it will be useful to set down the only statement Bishop François Charrière ever made on the subject (Oct. 25, 1927): "The Moral Rearmament movement is giving rise to disquiet and reservations among excellent Catholics. They understand the opportuneness, even the urgency, of a grouping of men of

Proponents of this point of view exclusively were invited to a four-day study session at Lucerne at the end of March, 1954. Twelve priests from five countries prepared a 20,000-word appraisal on the movement and the place of Catholics in it. "Approved by the leaders of Moral Rearmament," the mimeographed presentation was sent to members of the hierarchy, notably in France and the United States.<sup>89</sup> The central concern of the editor of the

good will but they fear that, in the interest of unity, the movement will end up in putting itself forward as a methodology complete in itself and as a lowest-common-denominator type of belief or in proclaiming, as the integral Christian message, an ideal of Christianity which would leave in the shade such essential questions as faith in the central mystery of the Trinity, in the divinity of Christ, in the Church founded by Him, in the Sacraments.

"There is a real danger here without any doubt. To examine and to highlight the common values of the different churches or religion is legitimate. It must not lead to sacrificing or minimizing those values which are not common and which are often the fundamental ones.

"We believe that a movement like Moral Rearmament will be all the more effective if each participant brings to the movement, based as it is on honesty, justice and fraternity, the fruits of a generosity, an experience and a faith nourished at the highest, the most mysterious and often, alas, the most controverted sources of the revelation of the gospel.

"All premature synthesis could only be prejudicial to the movement, distorting perspectives and disturbing consciences. Moral Rearmament of its very nature, however correct its solutions on secondary points may be, cannot represent in any adequate fashion the divine revelation which alone is capable of saving individuals and the world.

"Its leaders realize this when they request their Catholic friends to remain or become good parishioners, firmly attached to the directives of the Pope and the bishops. We cannot insist too strongly on this point. It is on this condition alone, that is to say, in remaining completely Catholic, that Catholics will bring to Moral Rearmament a truly efficacious co-operation." Quoted in *L'Actualité Religieuse*, loc. cit.

<sup>89</sup>Copies of the document were available through M. Didier Lazard, 8 rue Delaborde, Neuilly (Seine), France.

essay was the question Bishop Suenens had raised and answered affirmatively: "Is Moral Rearmament a religion?" The priests' negative answer preceded by the argument of simple progressive iteration.<sup>60</sup>

### Holy Office Response

Clarification of the official Catholic attitude came with the publication of a reply of the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office to a question asking "whether it is fitting that the clergy and members of religious communities should take part in the reunions and meetings of Moral Rearmament." In a decision taken in a plenary session on August 8, 1951 and communicated to bishops throughout the world for their guidance, the Holy Office had declared:

1. It is not fitting for either diocesan or religious priests, and much less for nuns, to participate in the meetings of Moral Rearmament.
2. If exceptional circumstances should make such participation opportune, the permission of the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office must be requested beforehand. This permission will be granted only to learned and experienced priests.
3. Finally, it is not fitting that the faithful should accept posts of responsibility in Moral Rearmament and especially not fitting that they join the so-called "policy teams."<sup>61</sup>

<sup>60</sup>That any other conceivable term fits a system aiming to effect spiritual conversion by personal dedication to a moral ideal under the guidance of the Holy Spirit is difficult to discover.

This mimeographed defense spoke of an annual Mass said at Penn State College in gratitude for the return to Catholicism of (apparently many) students influenced by Buchman. Diligent inquiry would, however, reveal to the devotees of Absolute Truth that no Catholic chaplain there today knows of any such custom.

<sup>61</sup>The text was distributed by NC News Service (Domestic) August 22, 1955; it is found in the *Tablet* (London), August 27, 1955, p. 212.

Along with the publication of the 1951 response of the Holy Office, a letter (undated) of Cardinal Pizzardo, Secretary of the Congregation, to the Apostolic Delegate to Canada, was released. The Cardinal restated the earlier ruling, expressed astonishment "to see that certain people have an exaggerated enthusiasm which apparently makes them believe that the methods and means developed by Moral Rearmament are more efficacious in this movement than in the Catholic Church itself." His Eminence concluded: "The danger of syncretism and of religious indifference, of which warnings have been given in connection with Moral Rearmament, can no longer be ignored."<sup>62</sup>

Religious syncretism is not a lurking danger but the real premise of Moral Rearmament, insisted a former full-time worker in the movement, Edward Vogt, a convert to Catholicism, making his theological studies at the Collegio Urbano of Rome. In a letter to the *Tablet*, provoked by Sir Arnold Lunn's assurance that "MRA is not a Protestant sect but an ethical and spiritual discipline, which takes from Catholic practice of meditation and the quiet time its ideas of guidance," Mr. Vogt declared that the movement is clearly, from an inspection of its literature and an experience of its practice, a messianic religion, "a world force and a world view, to which, step by step, a person is brought to commit himself irrevocably and which will then determine every thought and action in all spheres of his life."<sup>63</sup> In the mind of MRA

<sup>62</sup>*Tablet* (London), August 27, 1955, p. 212.

<sup>63</sup>August 14, 1954, p. 162. Mr. Vogt adduced in proof the declaration of the Rev. J. R. Thornton-Dussbury, a director of MRA in England: "This world force (the ideology of MRA) is indeed the Body of Christ, the Body in which the Holy Spirit



leaders the values and insights of all religions are caught and incorporated in its ideology, asserted this former Moral Rearmament worker who finds this concept "far more aggressive and dangerous than simple indifferentism."<sup>16</sup>

It is characteristic of Moral Rearmament enthusiasts<sup>17</sup> to dismiss any strictures on the movement as referring to abandoned practices of earlier times, of aberrations that "used to be." Because of its dynamic character, MRA is constantly evolving, it is said; learning by experience, the movement has jettisoned features that disturb Catholics so that today MRA is an apt instrument to bring people closer to the church. Sir Arnold, for one, was pleased to note an improvement in Moral Rearmament since pre-war days and attributed the change "to the steady influence of Catholics in the movement." Mr. Vogt seconded the explanation, pointing out that the type of influence Catholics are allowed to exercise in the movement is precisely to *make it more attractive to other Catholics*. "To think that Catholics could be allowed to stay and work inside the Group with the intention of

bringing the Groupers into the Church is—to put it mildly—highly unrealistic."

How to explain the vogue of Moral Rearmament, a manifestly ambiguous, illusive movement whose premises suppose a superstitious belief in a constant guidance of the individual in all the practical details of daily living by the Holy Spirit and whose objective of social change without institutional reforms is plainly obscurantist? It is possible, of course, if you are "an unconditioned partisan of MRA" (such as Dr. Oskar Leimgruber, Catholic layman and former chancellor of the Swiss Confederation, asserts himself to be) to find an explanation in the fact that the movement is inspired by God.<sup>18</sup> But that is only repeating Dr. Buchman's own assertion in support of which the prophet has not produced adequate credentials.<sup>19</sup>

Is it because well-intentioned folk find it somehow satisfying to foregather and agree with Calvin Coolidge's preacher in being "against sin"? More cynical observers note that Moral Rearmament with good foresight cultivated German and Japanese men of public life at a time when representatives of these defeated nations were not being received in the better international circles. The same observers note MRA's flattery of personalities from the new and economically backward countries of Asia and Africa. The experience of actual camaraderie with a manufacturer while washing dishes together at Caux is an unfamiliar and

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has clothed Himself, a Body suited to the needs and times of the place, a close-knit living organism whose heart and head are Jesus Christ Himself." *The Oxford Group and its Work of Moral Rearmament* (The Oxford Group, London, 1954), p. 71.

<sup>16</sup>"The Catholic Church and the other 'denominations' are for them different historical forms of one basic religion; they look on them much as different 'rites' are conceived by a Catholic who may appreciate another rite but would not think of changing over." Vogt, *op. cit.*

<sup>17</sup>"Enthusiasts" in the historical sense of the word, referring to the illuminists whose history has been traced by Monsignor R. A. Knox in his fascinating study, *Enthusiasm* (Sheed and Ward, New York, 1951). The same point concerning MRA is made in an article, "The Catholic Looks at Moral Rearmament," appearing in *Social Survey*, 3 (September, 1954) 9, 8.

<sup>18</sup>*Op. cit.* Dr. Leimgruber's competence as a witness is somewhat dubious. In the same article, appearing April 15, 1955, he asserted that there is nothing in MRA in conflict with the directives or conceptions of the Catholic hierarchy.

<sup>19</sup>Cf. Howard, p. 224.

certainly agreeable experience for an European labor leader, for whom human relations in industry is not even a text-book subject. The industrialist at Caux, on the other hand, frequently gives the impression of a man embarked on a slumming lark, one that allows him to protest that he loves all his workers, certainly more than those evil Marxists who are trying to upset the system and why can't we all work together now and increase production, anyway?

One phenomenon of the Moral Re-armament story is worth noting: its lack of any permanent success in the United States.<sup>66</sup> Is its appeal greatest where religious traditions have become formalized (and to that extent somewhat moribund) so that the idea of a vital personal response to religious truth becomes a spiritual adventure? Dean Willard L. Sperry of Harvard suggested as much.<sup>67</sup>

The last word to explain the basis and popularity of MRA might well be

left to the sociologist. Dr. Eister, after surveying the impressive evidence he had accumulated in his doctoral research, concluded that the success of the movement was due to the fact that it offers "a wide and increasing number of thrills, becoming itself, to some extent, a vehicle for producing and amplifying religious experience of this order."<sup>70</sup> None of these thrills is mean; all are to a certain extent humanly desirable; many imply personal effort of sizable proportions and costing personal sacrifices.

### Social Thrills

The "thrills" imparted by MRA activity were those of new opportunities, new power, new purpose, new peace, feelings of joy from release from fears, anxiety and guilt. In addition to the more selfish feelings, Dr. Eister noted the satisfaction derived from helping to convert others, in sharing experiences in intimate circles, in enjoying religious fellowship with other converts, in fol-

<sup>66</sup>Curiously enough, Europeans understand that the movement is flourishing in the United States. The writer was assured by a European confere that "hundreds of thousands" of American Catholics are MRA'ers. The only American Catholic the writer knew who favored Moral Re-armament was a Swiss lady, a convert, Mrs. Helene Froelicher, foundress of the "Crusade for a More Fruitful Preaching and Hearing of the Word of God," an organization which seeks to correct the current deficiencies of the Catholic pulpit.

<sup>67</sup>In a volume in a war-time series on American institutions edited for British readers, Dean Sperry explained: "The American scene has been so often 'burnt over' by revivals—to use a metaphor which comes from our familiar experience of forest fires—that there is little standing timber or dry grass left among us in precisely this way. This is one of the reasons why, in spite of its American founder, the Oxford Group Movement has not had in America the success which apparently it has had in England. Even though the techniques of Buchmanism were addressed to the upper social classes—the Salvation Army in a dinner jacket—rather than to the down-

and-out, many of the psychological skills of the American revivalist survive in the movement and we here can still identify them in their new dress. With us the Groups have failed to make the slightest impress upon the great middle body of non-liturgical American Protestantism. Their American constituency has been largely among the Episcopalians. . . . The movement has succeeded mainly in liturgical churches which have in the past consistently refused to practice or to participate in revivals of the conventional type. To the members of these churches, the Groups have apparently come as a new experience: religion may become something more than decorous attendance at Morning and Evening Prayer. . . . Meanwhile for us, Buchmanism for all its apparent novelty was an old story. We are tired of religious revivals as we have known them for the last half-century. Their theology was often the incredible; their applied psychology was filled with emotional dangers; their permanent residue too meagre; their mechanism too obvious and too well-oiled; and their commercial instinct much too highly developed." *Religion in America*, Cambridge University Press, 1942, p. 160.

<sup>70</sup>*Op. cit.*, p. 158.

lowing a skillful leader and in feeling oneself a part of a great and growing movement in which persons of all sorts and classes, especially prominent people in each group are also active. Finally, as the sociologist observed, there is the "thrill" of contemplating what the devotee of MRA interprets to be evidence of the power of God in the world work-

ing through the movement.

Like the theologians and the Holy Office, Dr. Eister classifies Moral Re-armament as a "cult" religious movement and gives other examples of the same type—Rosicrucianism and Bahaism, a religion seeking to incorporate and fulfill all other religions and churches.

## Foot-notes on Race Relations

*Excerpts from Letters*

*from Three American Cities*

1. Racial incidents in Chicago are many and varied.

A Negro pulled up to make the stop sign at 33rd and Wells about 8:45, on the 14th of February — there was a big snow storm the night before — some white Italian boys, on their way to school, started throwing ice balls at the car, broke the window, and when the man got out of the car, they belted him with some more ice. He was badly cut and taken to the hospital.

Although five or six people witnessed the act, none would identify these neighborhood darlings. No action was taken, none could be. I got this from the officer who happened to be called. He also told me about the bodies they had to

take out of the park across the street. These Italian street gangs watch for a Negro to come anywhere over the alley that draws the line between black and white, then they waylay him in the park.

In August, they usually cut down all shrubs and bushy trees in an attempt to halt the murders. They never make the newspapers. Who cares? What are seven lives? Yes, one morning seven were found. Right there behind Comiskey Park, home of America's beloved national sport. The next park is the home of another American sport.

Another thing happened here on our block. There's a teacher a few doors away who is regarded as most unusual;

she has queer democratic ideas. At any rate, one evening she invited two little girls from her class to come home with her. One was a Negro, the other an Italian. As the little girls walked towards the teacher's house, a woman stopped them and said, "What's that nigger girl doing over here on our street?" The little girl, Louise, said, "We're going to see Mrs. So-and-So." The lady said, "Don't you know what she is?" "Sure," Louise said, "She's American." This gives me hope, for that particular little girl is the product of a most prejudiced family, and, surprisingly enough, her parents were rather proud of her retort.



About the little ten-year-old boy who was lost. It seems he was on his bike and lost his way, and got right into a mess.

He was spotted by a group of boys ranging from eight to twelve years. They followed him, taunting, pushing and hitting him. J — came out and saw them, as they were right next to the church. Then they cornered him, and the little boy was terrified. His mind just couldn't take any more. He collapsed mentally. J— went to stop the fracas, but they turned on him with curses and names that really made the air blue. He finally threatened them and told them to "shag." They did, and J— saw the boy, after he recovered somewhat, safely through the neighborhood.

The terrible part of it is the harm done to the boy mentally, and the attitude towards the "nigger lover." These gangs really believe it is "their business" to "take care of them."

There's another story about a man on his way to work, who was killed on 26th Street, but I can't get hold of Father C— for the whole story. They did this job with bricks.

I know of Negro Catholics being spat on and called names while they were at Mass on Sunday at one particular church — not at ours, for they don't dare to come into our district. Some come and go to church under police guard. This is not general, of course, and may be the case at only several churches. One church bulletin admitted all this and it was quoted by a Protestant paper.

The Protestants around have asked why a Catholic prelate doesn't say something that would put a stop to such disgraceful practices. Probably some of these Negroes are wondering about it also. But things are bad at Protestant churches around Trumbull Park too.

2. Perhaps you have heard that Los Angeles is "Heaven for the Negro." When I came out to the West Coast last summer I was almost tempted to believe it. The problems don't loom out at you. Job opportunity and wages are good. The slums are more spread out and are not as obvious as in most Eastern cities; babies can't freeze while waiting to be admitted to a hospital. But the big difference is in individual racial attitudes. The majority of Los Angelans that I've met, including clergy and lay, professional, intellectual and



business leaders, is either anti-Jew, anti-Negro or anti-Mexican, and this, in a more ignorant, insidious way than I have ever before run up against.

Back home in Chicago and in Washington and in Omaha, there was plenty of racial prejudice and injustice but at the same time there were many persons, especially in Catholic circles, who spoke of racial matters with a sincere desire to improve conditions. Lots of concerted effort and very concrete activity had been initiated among Catholics, lay and clergy. In Omaha there was the De Porres group, in Washington, Poverello and the Catholic Interracial Council and at home Blessed Martin House. The guidance of the clergy was inspiring and a great deal of good was done in clarifying erroneous notions about racial differences.

Here there is nothing; not a sign of Catholics attempting to whittle away at the over-all insidious ignorance that crops up here in most conversation, and here as in most places racial attitudes do have a way of cropping up.

For instance, the other day one of the most influential civic leaders, a good Catholic and an ordinarily charitable man, wasted hours of his valuable time trying to convince me that "the Negro as a race is intellectually, socially, biologically and genetically inferior. They are human beings," he said, "but of a different genus, and as such they don't merit quite the same treatment as a white. They shouldn't be allowed to share the same neighborhoods, especially the more exclusive ones."

In case you're in doubt, in Los Angeles as in most cities, Negroes are not free to live, work, eat or play where they choose whether or not they are

qualified. They are allowed to share the sun, but begrudgingly.

What do you say to a person who greets you with the statement that "Negroes and Mexicans should not be allowed to breathe the same air as white people do?" This kind man, an attorney, proudly continued with the tale of his 14-year-old daughter who of her own initiative chose to transfer from a public high school to a Catholic one in order to escape mixing with what she termed "those dirty Mexicans and Negroes." The prospect of a good Christian education seemed irrelevant. Later I discovered that the particular high school she chose doesn't *actually* bar persons of color from entering; it uses more subtle means.

It was hard for me last Sunday to speak at a baptismal celebration when the group began to discuss the "California Jew." This is a common racial slur in this area. Who would expect that my quiet statement that I could not hold with the sort of wholesale prejudice they were directing at the Jewish people would ignite a whole afternoon's fireworks? Then it was all directed at me, to bring out the usual reasons why a "California Jew" is a "breed of its own."

I'm afraid that most of us here have some weird and un-Christian notions about the humanness of the various races.

**3.** Saint Louis now seems rather quiet racially. Principals of girls' schools still say, however, that their Negro graduates have a terrible problem breaking into general office employment. The CORE (Committee on Racial Equality) has done much to drop the barriers at local eating places and popular stores. A scholarship for a

Negro has been established at a fashionable girls' college here (what a martyrdom the recipient must undergo, but that's progress).

Anyway, this city shelters one of the strangest "groups" active on the American scene today, a thing called "White Citizens' Council" and housed in a small upstairs office on South Grand Boulevard. Nearby is a real estate dealer's office, below it a liquor store — simply to show you the plain, middle-class surroundings.

Only one man is generally found in the office, a John Hamilton, although the clerk in the liquor store downstairs says that sometimes he is assisted by a girl. This gentleman is of medium height, broad in the shoulders, about fifty.

The gentleman is approachable enough, so long as you don't ask too many questions. He may then have reason to suspect that you are a reporter, because, as he admits, these curious people bother him a lot.



Hamilton's *White Sentinel* has for several years been a tabloid-size offset job of about eight or ten pages — lately it has added a couple of pages, probably because of the prosperity of the times. Its illustrations always are simply borrowed from other sources, such as *Look*, *Globe-Democrat* and apparently some of the Negro papers also. Each picture is accompanied by a courtesy-line, but the captions are replete with discourtesy and tortured into crudely slanted comments. Probably there hasn't been one piece of "straight news" originally published in it.

An item about the closing of Sacred Heart College, Grand Coteau, La., Hamilton interpreted as clear proof that racial integration was unwanted and unpopular among Catholics of southwest Louisiana, and as a warning to Archbishop Rummel. However, the item did not mention that the school had been steadily declining for some fifteen years or so, and faced competition with a large state college a short distance away — at which there are reported some 100 Negro students who associate with 4000 white students quite amicably.

Hamilton will hand you his literature and folders and lists, readily enough, but you must become a member in order to get a copy of his organization's by-laws and constitutions. I believe that costs \$2, the same price as a subscription to his *Sentinel*. But there are lots of titles on his lists, some at fancy prices, others at cheap bulk rates. The *Sentinel* itself a couple of years ago used to offer 100 copies as its top bulk order, while of late the top quantity has jumped to 1,000 — which I see as a sign of pretty heavy production and sales.

You wonder where all the printed stuff comes from. It has no union label. It may be done in the south, but it could hardly be done in great quantity by one man who greets visitors, keeps records and answers the telephone.

A couple of years ago Mr. Hamilton conducted a "mass meeting" to protest the integration of the local public schools and ask for impeachment of the local superintendent. About 300 persons showed up, of whom a good handful were observers whom he accused of being reporters for the *Post-Dispatch*. Most of his audience were older folk,

and mainly women. The daily papers here have steadily given Mr. Hamilton the "silent treatment."

Prominent in the office is a large safe, an immense type that is used by big-volume supermarkets.

Hamilton's association once sponsored a pilgrimage to the late Senator Bilbo's grave in Mississippi, on which the devotees reverently placed wreaths.

The *White Sentinel* seems to pride itself on discovering business firms which have traded with Negroes or shown themselves well-disposed towards Negroes (recently, it showed Negro salesmen employed by Phillip-Morris,

and a photostat copy of a check sent by Falstaff to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples) and apparently would discourage any such tradings or dispositions. Doubtless this approach is effective. One Mississippi politician recently was quoted in *Time* as saying that south-wide business could be seriously damaged if southerners retaliated against such firms.

All in all, I believe that this modest little outfit is probably far more effective in turning white people against Negroes — class against class — than any communist agitators.

## BOOKS

### THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC FAMILY.—

By John L. Thomas, S.J. Prentice-Hall, New York, 1956, xii, 471 pp. \$7.65.

This volume fills a real gap in the literature of the family. It deals with the situation facing a large and important cultural sub-system in American society, the constituents of the Roman Catholic faith. It discusses the problem of maintaining, in a time of rapid social change, family ideals based on ultimate-value premises promulgated by the church. Particularly difficult to preserve are the approved Catholic positions on sex education, birth control, the prohibition of pre-marital intercourse and the inviolability of marriage. The survival of a minority under these conditions depends on the strengthening of solidarity among Catholics so that the force of conformity will operate to support group ideals.

Dr. Thomas brings to his task of exposition and analysis a command of the sociological theory of society and the family, a complete grasp of Catholic doctrine and practice and a lucid style of presentation.

Three marriage types based on distinctions in Canon law are important for understanding the Catholic family. These are 1. the union of two Catholics in a valid marriage, 2. the union of a Catholic and a non-Catholic in a valid marriage, which is subdivided into a union of a Catholic and a baptized non-Catholic, and a Catholic and an unbaptized non-Catholic and 3. the union of two Catholics or of a Catholic and non-Catholic in an invalid marriage. Valid mixed marriage rates (25 to 30 per cent of all mixed marriages) tend to be high in areas with a small number of Catholics in the population, low in parishes with strong ethnic solidarity and high with higher social and economic status. Current studies show a high divorce rate for marriages of Catholics and non-Catholics which, however, may be due largely if not entirely to the breakup of invalid marriages.

Dr. Thomas ably assembles and analyzes the available statistics on family disorganization and disintegration. Valuable data are drawn from his own research, particularly on the characteristics of brok-

en marriage of Catholics, factors in marital disintegration as related to the family cycle, ethnic comparisons of marriage breakdowns, mixed and convert marriages. A noteworthy contribution by the author is the explanation for the failure of the prediction made by Thomas and Znaniecki of the breakdown of monogamous marriage among the Polish peasants in America because of an inadequate theoretical framework that minimized the subjective aspect of religion in shaping attitudes.

To meet the problems of the Catholic family in the larger society with divergent practices, the author advocates a positive program which will clarify Catholic family goals in relation to the present situation, will restore parental roles in the religious rearing of children and will maintain the Catholic concept of sex. Developments closely related to the actualizing of Catholic family standards are the reappraisal of womanhood, the sociological significance of the parish and the conception of wider community responsibility involving the cooperation of various religious rearing of children and will olic family life in the United States has been stimulated by the Family Life Bureau of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, by diocesan activities and by other church organizations. It has taken shape specifically with lay participation in the Cana and Pre-Cana Conference Movement for marital and premarital instruction and in the Christian Family Movement.

This volume is a real contribution to the growing literature on marriage and the family. It is of equal value to non-Catholic as well as to Catholics. It will provide the reader with an understanding of the ideology of the Catholic family, of its problems and of current programs for meeting them.

ERNEST W. BURGESS  
University of Chicago

**THE DECLINE OF WISDOM.**—By Gabriel Marcel. Philosophical Library, New York, 1955, 56 pp. (paper) 75c

Marcel's most recent work is a philosophical plea for a turning away from an abstract, depersonalized, individualistic and

rootless way of life to the traditional values of family life, tradition and wisdom.

What sociologists will find of interest is Marcel's high-handed and free-wheeling conceptualizations. Within the compass of fifty-six pages he attempts to give a coherent diagnosis of modern society's ills as well as his remedy. Unfortunately, the work cannot be read by itself: it presupposes an intimate acquaintance with Marcel's terminology. And even for the reader with this background, Marcel's analysis is so overextended that it carries little weight. As Marcel himself admits, his is only one of many possible analyses which converge on the need for a "rooted" man.

W. P. KROLIKOWSKI, S.J.  
West Baden College

**PROBING OUR PAST.**—By Merle Curti. Harper, New York, 1955, xii, 294 pp. \$4.00

This volume, commemorating Professor Curti's presidency of the American Historical Association, contains the author's own selection of essays which he considers most useful for students and general readers interested in American social and intellectual history.

The subject matter ranges from considerations of "American historiography," to explorations of "the transmission and context of ideas" and American influence abroad. With equal skill and facility, Curti probes some serious aspects of our culture (such as the influences of Locke, Lieber and Turner, the democratic theme in American literature, the changing concept of human nature in American thought) and surveys some of the more lightsome (such as the correlations between American traditions and the dime novels). Some pieces (for instance, on the democratic theme, the influence of Locke, the retreat from reason in the age of science) will occasion as much stimulating discussion by their recollection as they did on their first appearance, since not every student or reader will agree completely with the interpretations and conclusions.

MARTIN F. HASTING, S.J.  
Saint Louis University



# LETTERS

## Valuable Material

... I will call attention to SOCIAL ORDER in an early edition of *Family Life*.

While the economic world is evidently the first concern of a good many of your contributors you are also publishing material which is not easily found elsewhere, especially as concerns the position of your church on family matters.

PAUL POPENOE  
American Institute of Family Relations  
Los Angeles

## "Smug Disdain" of Catholic Readers?

Although I have personally long been interested in SOCIAL ORDER, I have had such sad experiences in offering trial subscriptions for two well-known Catholic weekly magazines to friends and associates that I hesitate to attempt it again.

I had assumed that, unlike "Johnny," Catholic college graduates can read and, more importantly, do read with discrimination. I found this assumption, in my limited experience, to be gratuitous and erroneous. With some, I found upon visits that the wrappers still remained around the magazines and only time was pressing to have them discarded as received. Pleasant conversation disclosed a startling reason for a number of them subscribing to Catholic publications: each February, appeals are made from many pulpits to induce Catholics to support the Catholic press, primarily the local diocesan weekly. For those so disposed, it may mean periodicals as well as books. As to periodicals, they may be divided into the pious publications which have as purpose the raising of funds for a religious order or for the propagation of the faith, and the magazines that stimulate "thinking."

Now one of the easiest ways of alienating friends and making enemies is to induce people to think. Too often you lead them to "think that they are thinking" (but thus one becomes "a sterling Catholic gentleman," "dedicated to Catholic Ac-

tion"). A further danger is that thinking may result in a headache. (But this being the improved aspirin age, known as the bufferin transition, this danger can be neutralized.) In any event, proof of the support of the Catholic press means to so many, *only* subscribing for Catholic publications—it *does not require the reading of them*.

It seems not to have occurred to American Catholics that we are the largest religious group in America, with proportionately more Catholic schools of all grades than any other country, singularly blessed in the tremendous economic advances made in the past generation—but *pari passu* American Catholics as well as nonCatholic brethren who invite comment on pressing problems from their Catholic friends only find the pitiful comments rather secularist and materialist. If one were to suggest the advisability of reading the encyclicals, allocutions and addresses of the Holy Father to groups of varied interests during the past ten years, the smug disdain of "what Rome says to the city and the world excludes the United States" becomes apparent.

(Name and Address Withheld)

## Reactions to "Lobby"

The lobbying article in your April issue was most interesting and certainly helps us in clarifying thinking on the civil liberties-free speech aspects of this problem.

ALAN REITMAN  
American Civil Liberties Union  
New York

I have read with great interest SOCIAL ORDER's article on lobbying. The conclusion reached on the president's attitude on the gas bill was right to the point.

Naturally, I am happy that I was able to contribute to your footnote on the question.

WAYNE MORSE  
U. S. Senate



*Preliminary announcement - - -*

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